NUMBER 1 : 2000-2001

PURĀVṚITTA

Journal of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology

Editor
Shyam Manohar Mishra
Head
Deptt. of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology
Lucknow University

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

For Prof P.C. Paul
Sm.

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Publisher :
Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

Purāvṛitta would be published annually by the Deptt. of A. I. History & Archaeology, Lucknow University.

Manuscripts should be neatly typed in double space and sent to the Head of the Deptt. of A. I. History & Archaeology, Lucknow University, Lucknow-226006

Price : Rs.300.00
U$ 20

Printer : **Shiva Art Prass** Delhi - 110032

Distributor : Bharat Book Centre
17, Ashok Marg, Lucknow

EDITOR'S NOTE

A separate Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology was established in Lucknow University in 1956 with Prof. C. D. Chatterji as its founder head. Prior to this the study of the subject formed an optional group in the Deptt. of Indian History, But Indological studies at this University had won national and international renown much earlier due to erudite writings of Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji, a doyen among historians who headed the Deptt. of Indian History from 1921-22 to 1946-47. C. D. Chatterji with his mastery of Pali and Prakrit languages also made significant contribution.

A. I. History & Archaeology is now one of the biggest departments in the Faculty of Arts. It has an Archaeological Museum and has also been conducting excavations since 1996-97. The need of a regular research Journal of the Deptt. has been felt for quite a few years, but the idea could, however, be materialised now, thanks to the benign attitude of our respected Vice-Chancellor Prof. D. P. Singh who not only readily gave his approval, but also asked me to publish it as early as possible. I am extremely grateful for his kind support and encouragement.

In view of natural difficulties involved in bringing out thematic Journals, the scope of ***Purāvṛitta*** has not been restricted to any particular aspect of ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology : this bilingual annual Journal would welcome articles on all aspects of Indological studies.

I convey my sincere thanks and esteem to learned contributors for sending their articles in shortest possible time, and to Prof. S. N. Kapur and other colleagues for their active cooperation and unqualified support. I am particularly indebted to Prof. P. C. Pant for offering valuable suggestions at various stages of its publication. My thanks are also due to Profs. B N. Srivastava, S. N. Chaturvedi, K. K. Thaplyal, S. N. Misra and R. Avasthi for their blessings and constant encouragement and to Shri Virendra Kumar Bahari for publishing the Journal nicely.

Some printing errors may have escaped notice notwithstanding my best endeavours to weed them out, for which I seek indulgence of readers.

Finally, I shall feel immensely gratified if the ***Purāvṛitta*** becomes one of the prestigious Journals of Indology.

Jan 29, 2001
Vasant Panchami

Shyam Manohar Mishra

PURĀVṚITTA

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A PROBLEM IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF PRAGJYOTISHA: WAS AVANTIVARMAN OF THE MUDRARAKSHASA AN IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR OF BHASKARAVARMAN?

Ajay Mitra Shastri*

The period of the rule of the Bhauma-Nāraka or Varman dynasty[1] was most phenomenal and eventful in the history of what was anciently known as Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarūpa and is now called Assam. It had within the sphere of its general political impact much of the region of India's north-eastern border that now forms the states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh that have been carved out of Assam in recent Years. It commenced with Pushyavarman, son of Naraka,[2] about the beginning of the second quarter of the fourth century AD, who was a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta and accepted of his own volition the status of a subordinate ally like other bordering kings (*pratyanta-nṛipatis*) while at the same time retaining an independent status for all practical purposes.[3] The dynasty continued on its chequered career and to prosper and expand its territory for almost three-and-a-half centuries till about the middle of the seventh century AD. Its last known member Bhāskaravarman together with the Pushpabhūti king Harshavardhana, whose subordinate ally he was, played a pivotal role in Indian history during the first half of the seventh century and may be rightly regarded as one of the greatest rulers of northern India of the time. He came to the throne about end-sixth or in the early years of the following century AD and continued to rule well after his friend Harsha's demise and assisted the Chinese raiding contingent led by Wang-hiwen-tse following Harsha Śīlāditya's end. But unfortunately there is as of now no knowing as to what happened to his own dynasty following his death and in all probability it came to an abrupt end as he, like his friend Harsha, didn't leave any male issue to succeed him. The date of this catastrophic event can't be determined with any degree of precision. The only thing that one can aver with certainty is that it occurred after the mission of Wang-hiwen-tse in 647-48 AD. It is not unlikely that this episode landed him in an imbroglio of an unforeseen calamity. The Tibetan monarch Sroṅ-bstān-

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sgam-po (died 650 AD), who also is reported to have assisted, like Bhāskaravarman, the Chinese aggressors, invaded and conquered Assam.[4] Some historians regard this event as the cause of the sudden termination of the rule of the Bhauma-Nārakas after their most powerful monarch Bhāskaravarman.[5] And shortly after, about 650-51 AD, we find a certain Sālastambha of a Mlechchha dynasty on the throne of Kāmarūpa.

Some scholars, however, think that a king named Avantivarman mentioned in some versions of the concluding stanza (*bharata-vākya*) of the famous Sanskrit political drama *Mūdrā-Rākshasa* of Viśākhadatta, was the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman. The stanza in question, according to this recension, expresses the wish that king Avantivarman, assisted by his prosperous relations and servants, may protect for long the earth which was rescued after the deluge by god Vishṇu in his Varāha (Boar) form with the forepart of his teeth which was now being frightened by the Mlechchhas.[6] The monarch is represented as the manifestation of that self-existent God to whose arms the earth goddess now clings because of the fear from the Mlechchhas.

The reason for the association of Avantivarman with Bhāskaravarman's lineage is the use of the expression *pārthiva* ('son of *pṛithivī*,' viz. 'earth') in the sense of 'king' and the reference to the Varāha manifestaion of god Vishṇu from whose union the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty to which Bhāskaravarman belonged traced its origin. The play, according to its prologomena, was composed by the poet Viśākhadatta who was the son of one Prithu, styled *mahārāja*, and grandson of the *sāmanta* (feudal chief) named Vaṭeśvaradatta.[7]

J. C. Ghosh was the first to offer this suggestion,[8] and thereafter it has found numerous champions, some of them even more vociferous than its original proponent. Ghosh felt that Viśākhadatta flourished towards the close of the seventh century AD and belonged to Kāmarūpa and conjectured that Avantivarman was the son of Bhāskaravarman. This conjecture was supported by K. L. Barua who pointed out that the danger of the Mlechchha rebellion was actually imminent in Kāmarūpa at that time as the strong rule of Bhāskaravarman ended with his death and after the rule, lasting not more than five years, of Avantivarman (c. 650-55 AD) we find the Mlechchha king Sālastambha wielding power.[9] He was further in concurrence with the view of N. N. Vasu that Jayatungavarman, mentioned as the overlord of Lokanātha known from his Tipperāh charter,[10] was Bhāskaravarman's immediate successor[11] whom he further proposed to equate with Avantivarman.[12] R. M. Nath, too, supports the identification of Avantivarman as the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman and holds that he was overthrown by Sālastambha.[13]

D. R. Bhandarkar feels that Devavarman referred to by the Chinese traveller I-tsing as the king of Eastern India may have been a king of Kāmarūpa and probably Bhāskara's son.[14] P. C. Choudhury gives the question a new dimension by supposing that Devavarman of I-tsing is an inversion of 'Varmadeva' taken by the rulers of the Varman line as well as by some other later Kāmarūpa rulers and in that case he may be identified with Viśākhadatta's Avantivarman.[15] He further equates the two with Sālastambha and tries to strengthen Ghosh's theory identifying Visakhadatta's Avantivarman as the immediate successor of Bhāskarvarman and holds that Viśākhadatta was most probably his contemporary.[16] The strongest champion of this theory is, however, M. M. Sharma who has tried to justify it on some additional considerations.[17] These include, inter alia, the following:

(i) .he *Mūdrā-Rākshasa* was composed in North Bengal which then formed part of Kāmarūpa and it refers to some tribes of the North-East like the Khasas or Khāsis,

(ii) the name Avantivarman is similar to those of Bhāskaravarman and his predecessors,

(iii) the epithet *pārthiva*, 'son of Pṛithivī,' refers to the origin of the Varmans from the earth goddess,

(iv) most of the copper-plate charters of the Kāmarūpa kings contain an invariable allusion to Vishṇu's Varāha manifestation, and

(v) most of the official records of the Kāmarūpa monarchs, and especially the two known grants of Bhāskaravarman, like the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, have a mangala stanza invoking Śiva.

We feel, however, that none of these arguments is conclusive enough to establish the contention, and these are very general points that neither prove nor disprove the suggested identification.

As against this, there is sufficient ground to dismiss the theory. First of all, there are variant readings of the King's name, *viz.* Chandragupta, Avantivarman, Dantivarman and Rantivarman, the last reading being meaningless and discardable. Of the remaining three names, as shown by Hillebrandt, Avantivarman and Dantivarman are later emendations and thus Chandragupta appears to be the most likely one, though there can be no finality in this matter. However, even if, just for argument's sake, one were to accept the reading Avantivarman as the only one, there is no guarantee that he belonged

to Kāmarūpa alone because we have as yet no record mentioning Avantivarman as a king of Kāmarūpa. As against it, we know of a ruler of Kashmir and a Maukhari king of this name from reliable historical records. Then, there is nothing to suggest that the author belonged to Kāmarūpa or, for that matter, to any other region, and we can only say that he belonged to India. And this Viśākhadatta appears to be the same as Viśākhadeva, the author of another political play, Devi-Chandragupta, of which only fragments have been located from some later works. These are the only two well-known plays of the same genre and appear to proceed from the same pen. Though the age of the author has been conceived variously by different critics, it looks more likely that he was the court-poet of the Gupta emperor Chandra Gupta II *Vikramāditya.*[18] Then, the word *pārthiva*, though literally capable of meaning 'son of Pṛithivī,' as thought by some, is much more commonly used just in the sense of 'king', and the reference to the rescue of the earth by Vishṇu in his boar manifestation is too common and met with in several inscriptions to justify its exclusive association with Kāmarūpa. As we have just stated, there is nothing whatever to determine the region where Viśākhadatta flourished, and to connect him with some of the brāhmaṇa donees of the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, as some have attempted, is also without any basis except that they have datta-ending names. And there is nothing to show that they reached the status of *sāmanta* or *mahārāja* as the author was. So we may dismiss the theory without any further discussion as purely imaginary.[19]

Notes and references

1. The dynasty is called Bhauma-Nāraka because it was believed to have come into being from the union of the goddess earth (*bhūmi*) with god Vishṇu in his Varāha (Boar) manifestation when the latter lifted the former after the great deluge. And the product of this union was Naraka who was supposed to be the progenitor of the ruling family. This legend is found repeated in the inscriptions of practically most of the dynasties of Kāmarūpa. It is popularly known among historians as Varman as all its members had Varman-ending names.
2. In the Nālandā seal-inscriptions as well as that on the seal attached to the Dūbi plates of the last hitherto known member of the dynasty, Pushyavarman is styled 'Naraka's son' (*Naraka-tanaya*). The attempt of some scholars to explain the expression as meaning a scion or descendant of Naraka is opposed to the fact that the primary meaning of the word *tanaya* is son, not descendant. This notion is due to the fact that Naraka is always described in the inscriptions as the progenitor or the first of the dynasty.

But there was nothing to debar the assumption of the name by a descendant as was the common practice noticed in the annals of several ancient ruling lines. We are of the definite view that Pushyavarman's father was a personage named Naraka though he was not so powerful.

3. This is indicated by, *inter alia*, the assumption of imperial title *mahārājādhirāja* by the members of the line.
4. See for details, S. Levi, S. *Le Nepal*, II,p.148.
5. Vide R.C.Majumdar in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III: *The Classical Age*, eds. R.C.Majumdar and A.D.Pusalker, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1954, p.141.
6. वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमतनुबलामास्थितस्यानुरूपाम्
   यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री।
   म्लेच्छैरुद्वीज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना पीवरं राजमूर्त्तेः
   सश्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा।। *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, vii.19.

   There are variant readings of the king's name as will be pointed out in the sequel.
7. अद्य सामन्तवटेश्वरदत्तपौत्रस्य महाराजपदभाक्पृथुसूनोः कवेरर्विशाखदत्तस्य कृतिः मुद्राराक्षसं नाम नाटकं नाटयितव्यम्। *ibid*, Act I, beginning.
8. *JPASB*, XXVI, pp.241-45.
9. *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Shillong, 1933, pp.109-10.
10. R.G.Basak, 'Tipperah Copper-Plate Grant of Lokanātha, the 44 Year', *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, 1919-20, pp.113-45.
11. *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, III.
12. Kāmarūpa in the Seventh Century A.D.' *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, I, 1933, pp, 9-103; reproduced in *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, ed. Maheshwar Neog, Asam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat-Guwahati, 1973, pp.14-22.
13. *Background of Assamese Culture*, Shillong, 1948, p.40.
14. 'A List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.' Appendix to *EI*, XIX-XXIII, p.401, fn.8.
15. *History of the Civilisation of the People of Assam to the Twelfth Century A.D. Department of Antiquarian and Historical Studies in Assam*, Guwahati, 1978, p.206.
16. N.N.Dasgupta had earlier suggested that Devavarman was a successor of Bhāskaravarman. See 'The Occupation of Bengal by a King of Kāmarūpa,' *IC*, II, 1935, pp.37-45.
17. *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*, University of Gauhati, 1978, Introduction, pp.30-32.
18. Goyal, S.R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1967, pp.223-24 and fn.1 at p.224.
19. D.Sharma has also dismissed this theroy vide his *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, Part 1, pp.57-58.

SĀMANTA : A SEMANTIC STUDY

Jaimal Rai*

Words such as 'feudatory' or 'vassal' are the common English renderings of the Sanskrit word '*sāmanta*' which as system, especially in its developed form, has been a subject of comprehensive study by eminent authorities.[1] The present paper does not, therefore, intend to discuss the various facets of the feudal complex. It is confined to a semantic study of the term *sāmanta* which provides significant clues to the gradual development of the system.

The term *sāmanta* is a derivative of *sāmanta*. According to Sanskrit lexicons, *sam* as a prefix means 'like', 'same', 'similar' and 'near[2] and '*anta*' means 'border.' Thus '*sāmanta*' in the nominative form implies a similar or identical on the border' and is, therefore, a status-determinant in a geographical context having relative connotation. While it is not possible to associate the term '*samanta*' or '*sāmanta*' always with a system, it is equally true that one or the other feudal trait may exist without the term '*samanta*' or '*sāmanta*' being used. It is, therefore, either the context in which the term occurs or the characteristic usually allied with feudalism that will determine the semantic significance of the word *sāmanta*.

In the *Ṛigveda*,[3] *samanta* has been used in the sense of all round or spreading to the limit. It is in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that the word '*samanataparyāyī*' occurs in a passage of constitutional significance. In connection with the *Aindramahābhisheka* the relevant passage refers to different types of states and varying grades of supremacy culminating in the rule over the whole earth upto its very extremity bounded by sea.[4] Although the meaning of the various terms mentioned here may not be precisely ascertained, yet the literal rendering of '*samanataparyāyī*' referred to along with various forms of suzerainty, would appear to be "one whose rule extends over the bordering regions ruled by rulers of equal rank." Such a translation of the term "*samanta*" is borne out by the ritualistic formula connected with besprinkling ceremony which follows the Davasū oblations. Here the king to be consecrated is sprinkled with water by four distinct persons viz. The *adhvaryu* (purohita)

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sva (king's kinsman), *mitrya-rājanya* (friendly *rājanya*) and vaiśya.[5] The word *mitra-rājanya* which occurs in the *White Yajus*[6] is replaced by *janyamitra* in the *Black Yajus*[7] and is translated by Caland as 'a friend from a foreign country'.[8] This reminds us, as we shall later see, of the *sāmantas* or foreign kings mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* as *mitra* (ally) and *amitra* (enemy). References to a foreign ally participating in the consecretion ceremony of a king provide significant clues to the semantic study of the term '*sāmanta*'. Vedic texts of the period "leave no doubt about the territorial character of monarchy."[9] Drawing distinction between a king and an emperor the '*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* provides that "by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king and by the Vājapeya he becomes emperor."[10] References to more powerful king and smaller chiefs[11] and to words such as '*amitram*' (freedom from foes), *asapatnan* (freedom from a rival, *jyaishthya* (lordship), *ādhipatya* (overlordship) point to the fast changing Vedic political panorama[12] and "the gradual transformation of the Vedic state from the tribal to the territorial stage."[13] In the *Atharvaveda* (vi·98.1) *adhirāja* is 'overlord among kings' *adhīśvara* is later defined by the Amarakosha as one 'before whom all feudatories humble themselves.'[14] It would thus appear that some sort of overlordship over the vanquished kings of the neighbouring regions developed in the later Vedic age. That these vanquished kings paid tribute to the overlord appears implied in the result of the besprinkling ceremony. According to the White Yajus the *adhvaryu*, *Sva* and the *mitrya-rājanya* endow the king respectively with priestly dignity, with sustenance and with support; in the *Black Yajus,* the sacrificer acquires priestly dignity from the brāhmaṇa, strength from the vaiśya, vigour, food and the like from the *bhāratrivya* or rival and friendship from *janya*. Thus while the priest showered spiritual benediction, the king gained in materially by the other three. It appears, therefore, quite plausible that the idea of an emperor and tributary germinated in the later Vedic age and the term '*samant*' used in the generic sense in the *Ṛigveda* acquired a new complexion and connoted a neighbouring king of equal status defeated and reduced to a subsidiary position by the emperor. Thus, out of the several grades of suzerainty desired by the king in the above-quoted passage of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, *samantaparyāyī* would mean king's desire to extend his suzerainty over the bordering kings of coordinating ranks'. The latter would no doubt have a subservient status after having been subdued.

It appears that in the subsequent period, the term '*sāmanta*' continued to retain both the meanings and was used in the generic sense of bordering or neighbouring and in the specified sense of neighbouring king with equal

status. Such kings, even after they were constrained to submit to the overlordship of the victor, would naturally be referred to by the term '*sāmanta*.' Thus in the following period the meaning of the term '*sāmanta*' proliferated into three directions (a) neighbour (b) foreign ruler (c) tributary or vassal.

The rise of the mighty monolithic empire of the Mauryas brought for the first time the ideal of *chakravartin* into the realm of practical politics. Epigraphic and literary sources of the period refer to the diplomatic alliances of the Mauryas with foreign rulers and also to several administrative innovations. This back-drop furnishes definite clues to the semantic study of '*sāmanta*'. The term 'anta' and its various formations found severally in Aśokan inscriptions[15] and the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[16] assume political complexion. In Rock Edict II the term *sāmanta* occurs (except in Girinar version) in a significant context. Here Aśoka refers to the Greek king Antiochos and also to those other kings who were *sāmanta* of Antiochos.[17] The names of these *sāmantas* of Antiochos are given by way of enumeration in Rock Edict XIII which states that the Mauryan monarch has achieved *dharmavijaya* among all the border regions (*antesu*) as far as six *yojanas* where dwells the Greek king named Antiochos, and beyond Antiochos (*i.e.* in the north-west) (where live) the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander.[18] The meaning of the term *sāmanta* used in the Rock Edict II has been taken to be dubious and alternative suggestions (*i.e.*, neighbours or feudatories) have been given.[19] It is in fact, the context which unfolds the meaning. It may be noted that Rock Edict II uses the word *anta* in the sense of bordering states of the Mauryan empire in reference to the indigenous king of the south, but in the following line of the same edict '*sāmanta*' is used to indicate the relation of Antiochos with the kings mentioned by name in Rock Edict XIII. It appears therefore, quite plausible that Rock Edict II draws a distinction between *anta* and '*sāmanta*' and while the former means 'neighbour or borderer', the latter signifies 'tributary' or feudatory'. Such a rendering of the term '*sāmanta*' is borne out by the *Arthaśāstra* which is generally accepted to belong to the Mauryan period.

In the *Arthaśāstra* we find fairly elaborate references to the word '*s¯ amanta*' and its use in all the three senses mentioned above *i.e.*, neighbour, foreign ruler, tributary or vassal. The term '*sāmanta*' occurs fifty one times in this work.[20] It is used seven times in Book III in the generic sense of 'neighbour' in connection with the disputes regarding boundary or sale and purchase of land.[21] Canonical writers such as Vasishṭha, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Kātyāyana also use the word in the same sense and context.[22] But the *Arthaśāstra*

mentions the word in two specified senses as well.

It is evident from the contemporary sources that the emperors of the Mauryan dynasty scrupulously evolved a foreign policy and maintained diplomatic relations with foreign powers who were viewed either as allies or as enemies.[23] These rulers are called '*sāmantas*' from whom the king receives envoys (*sāmantadūta*).[24] A prince in disfavour or a king in calamity is advised to take shelter with a trustworthy *sāmanta* or a neighbouring independent ruler.[25] Measures were devised to ward off danger of invasion from *sāmantas* or foreign rulers.[26] In fact a good country and a fortunate king are those who are surrounded by weak neighbouring rulers or *sāmanta*.[27] Here the term '*sāmanta*' used together with the adjective *śakya* (weak) seems to have acquired a specific connotation as Aśvaghosha in the *Saundarānanda* also uses the same term and adjective.[28] The king is advised to enter into a pact or treaty with the *sāmantas* or independent foreign rulers and such a pact is termed '*sāmsandhiḥ*' or equal pact.[29] Such references establish beyond doubt that the term *sāmanta* used in the *Arthaśāstra* means independent foreign ruler.

There is, however, a third category of references in the *Arthaśāstra* to the word '*sāmanta*' which from the point of view of semantics, are very significant. Thus in vii 18.29 three categories of *sāmantas* are mentioned viz. *aribhāvinaḥ* (with hostile disposition), *mitrabhāvinaḥ* (with friendly disposition) and *bhṛityabhāvinaḥ* (with servile or dependent disposition). It may be observed that with the change of category there is a corresponding change in adjectives, but the kings in all the categories are referred to as *sāmanta*. Thus while the first category of *sāmantas* consists of independent hostile kings and second, of independent but having friendly relation, the last category of *sāmantas* consists of such kings as have accepted the overlordship of the conqueror.[30] The *sāmantas* enumerated under this category are "under the apprehension of an attack from a powerful king, who are situated between the conqueror and his enemy, the rear enemies of a powerful king or those who have voluntarily surrendered themselves to the conqueror (*svayamupanat*), those who have surrendered themselves under fear (*pratāpopanat*) and those who have been subdued (*daṇḍopanat*).[31] This category points to the lord-vassal relation and the term *sāmanta* used here stands for feudatory or tributary who owes allegiance to the overlord. Terms such as *svayamupanat*, *pratāpopanat* and *daṇḍopanat* used for '*sāmantas*' assume a definite specific connotation and Kauṭilya refers to them as indicative of an expression current in the politics of his time. These terms are used in the epigraphs much later when the process of feudalisation had reached its culmination. Thus

the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II refers to Lāṭa, Mālva and Gurjara as the *pratāpopanat* and others as the *daṇḍopanat* types of *sāmantas* or feudatories of the Chālukya monarch.[32] The Bānkskherā and Madhubana copper-plates of Harsha mention a new category together with the other two referred to above.[33] An inscription of twelth century refers to the *sāmantas* who had surrendered out of fear.[34] Thus the *bhṛityabhāvī* category of the *Arthaśāstra* shows that the Mauryan polity was familiar with the feudal order and the term *sāmanta* was used for both independent kings and for vassals. Scholars who are prone to emphasise the economic aspect of feudalism do not take the *sāmanta* of the *Arthaśāstra* in the sense of vassal.[35] But the history of the origin and evolution of a system informs us that all the characteristics of a system do not germinate at one and the same time. Moreover, one will agree with Marc Bloch who in course of this study of the European feudalism observes that the salient features of feudalism are conditioned by national differences and peculiarities.[36] In India while the ideal of *chakravartin* fostered and sanctified the policy of aggrandisement, that of *dharmavijyin* allowed the retention of the vanquished as tributary. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to both[37] and states that a righteous conqueror (*dharmavijayin*) is satisfied with submission only.[38] These subdued kings turned into tributaries. In the *Arthaśāstra* we find them presenting tributes to the conqueror and his queen and princes and entreating that their kingdoms and they themselves are at his disposal.[39] In case the suzerain is not accessible, the subdued kings are advised to call on his minister, priest, commander-in-chief and the crownprince and help their overlord as much as they can.[40] The conqueror on the other hand is advised to retain such subdued kings as are helpful and loyal to him[41] and like a father he should give them protection.[42] This points to the vassal-overlord relations and supports our semantic reconstruction i.e., the third meaning of the term *sāmanta* is vassal or tributary in the *Arthaśāstra*.

It emerges, therefore, from what has been deposed above that different types of feudatories had come into existence in the Mauryan period and that the feudal system had a political base for its origin. It may be mentioned here that the vassal-overlord relationship described in detailed in the *Arthaśāstra*, rests upon the underlying principle of allegiance. The word 'allegiance' connotes emotional ties which bind an individual to a political system and plays a key role in determining the feudal relationship.[43] It appears that this principle which has been referred to as a matter of policy in the *Arthaśāstra*, was a corner stone in the feudal polity of the *Kushāṇas*. Although the term *sāmanta* does not occur in the records of the Kushāṇa kings the feudal hierarchy

based upon the principle of allegiance had developed in their polity at an early stage. Thus a Kharoshṭhī inscription of Senavarmā,[44] king of Odi, refers to the *gusuraka*-nobles and the *sturaka*-nobles possessing authority and the troops (*sa-yuga-as-vala-vahanata gusu-rakohi sturakehi*). It is noteworthy that Senavarmā bears the title of lord (*ispara*) and king of the people (*Odi-raya navhapati*) and shows reverence to the Great king, king of kings Kuyula Kataphasa's son Sadaskano, the son of god, and to the royal kinsman Suhasoma who is called protector. Similarly in the Surkhkotal inscription[45] of the time of Kanishka I, Nokonzoko who is the lord of the marches (*karalaggo*) describes himself *Frei Staro* meaning 'most devoted to the king.' The inscription further refers to Burznihrpuhr and Mihiraman who have been described as 'lords of the marches subservient to the emperor's command and acquiescent. These records throw light upon the earlier phase of feudal polity and confirm our conclusions based upon the semantic reconstruction of the term *sāmanta*. They prove that the vassal-overlord relationship characterised by the concept of allegiance, developed out of a particular type of political ideology.

This feudal hierarchy has been mentioned in an indigenous tradition by the term '*sāmanta*'. The Jaina work *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*[46] which gives an account of the early history of the Śakas, informs us that among the Śakas "the feudatories (*sāmanta*) were called sāhi and their overlord (*s¯ amantahivai*) *sāhānu sāhi i.e.*, king of kings. Kālaka stayed with one of the *sāhīs*, and this chief together with ninety-five other *sāhīs* fell into disgrace with the "king of kings." It is thus evident that the feudal system existed amongst the Kushāṇas and the Śakas and the indigenous sources mentioned it by the term '*sāmanta*'.

To sum up, it may be pointed out that the institutions of vassalage and overlordship originated in the later Vedic political milieu and the process of its development received further impetus during the Mauryan period. It was predominantly political although its economic aspect was never totally absent. With the growth of the system its economic implications became more and more prominent. Thus the word *sāmanta* which in the beginning has a generic sense, became more and more specific and it came to be used in all the three senses viz. neighbour, independent king and vassal.

Notes and references

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2. Nirukta sammarshah - सम् उपसर्गः स्वस्वेको भाव साङ्गत्यं समानार्थत्वात्।
   V. S. Apte's, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
3. *Ṛigveda*, x.114.1.
4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii.15.
5. Ghoshal, U.N., *Studies in Indian History & Culture*, 1957, p.316.
6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v.3.5.11-14 and 4.2.2.
7. *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, xviii. 16.1-5.
8. Ghosal, *op.cit.*, p.317.
9. Sharma, R.S., *Political Ideas and Institutions*, Delhi, 1959, pp.273-74.
10. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. iii, Poona, p.65.
11. *Ṛigveda*, viii. 21-18.
12. Ghoshal, U. N., *op.cit.*, p.310.
13. Sharma, R. S., *op.cit.*, p.151.
14. *Amarakośa* - राजा तु प्रणता शेष मंत्रः सामंतः स्याद धीश्वरः।
15. Rock Edicts ii, v and xiii; Minor Rock Edict ii; Pillar Edict i.
16. *Arthaśāstra* (ed. R.P. Kangle), ii.1.3; ii.1.5; i.16.7; i.17.11; ii.1.5; ii.4.31; ii.16.21; viii.4.34; xiii.3.13; v.2.3; v.6.7; vii.10.16; viii.4.41; ix.7.34; xiii.5.19. etc.
17. R.E.ii.
18. Rock Edict xiii.
19. *Aśokan Inscriptions*, ed. R.G. Basak, p.8.
20. *Arthaśāstra*, i.10.3; i.13.18; i.17.14; i.17.16; i.17.50; i.18.6; i.21.24; v.4.10; v.6.10; v.6.16; v.6.20; vi.1.3; vi.1.8; vi.2.16; vii.2.6; vii.5.1; vii.6.2; vii.6.15; vii.7.2; vii.7.3; vii.7.20; vii.10.6; vii.10.9; vii.10.10; vii.10.11; vii.13.24; vii.15.12; vii.16.7; vii.16.16; vii.18.29; vii.18.32; viii.4.49; ix.3.17; ix.3.24; ix.6.71; ix.7.6; ix.7.11; xii.4.1; xiii.3.31; xiii.4.60; iii.8.1; iii.9.1; iii.9.3; iii.9.10; iii.9.15; iii.9.24.
21. iii.8.1; ix.1; iii;10;15;24.
22. *Vasishṭha*, xvi, 7; *Manu*, viii. 262-63; Yaj.ii.153, 155.
23. *Arthaśāstra*, v.6.3; i.16; vi.2.14-24; vi.2.14-24.
24. *Ibid*, i.18.6; v.4.10.
25. *Ibid*, i.18.6; vii.2.6.
26. *Ibid*, v.6.10.
27. *Ibid*, vi.1.3; vi.1.8.

28. *एवमादिभिरत्यक्तो बभूव सुलभैः पणैः।*
अशक्यशक्यसामन्तः शाक्यराजः स शक्रवत्।। *Saundarānanda Kavya of Ārya Bhadanta Aśvaghosha*, ed. by. Shastri, H.P., 112.415.

29. *Arthaśāstra*, vii.7.4.

30. *Ibid*, vii.18.29.

31. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, Tr. by R. Shama Sastri.

32. *Historical and Literary Inscriptions, Varanasi*, 1962, ed. Pandey, R. B. p.243.

33. Vide Appendices 1-2 to G.S. Chatterjee's, *Harshavardhana*.

34. Goharwa Plate of Karṇadeva, Vide *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, line 21.

35. Scholars have generally declined to accept the term *sāmanta* of the *Arthaśāstra* in the sense of vassal. B.N.S. Yadava thinks "The literary and epigraphic sources reveal that from the Gupta period onwards the usage of the term *sāmanta* became increasingly common in a sense similar to that of vassal, and thus it emerged as the key-word of Indian feudalism." (*Society and Culture*, Allahabad, 1973, p.136). R.S. Sharma also observes. "From the post-Maurya period, and especially from Gupta times, certain political and administrative developments tended to feudalise the state apparatus." (*Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, p.1). D.D.Kosambi states, "The very term *sāmanta*, formerly "neighbour" or "neighbouring king" came here after (Gupta period) to mean "high feudatory." The Guptas began with an ordinary king Śri-Gupta, whose son Ghaṭotkacha is given a slightly high title by his descendants; but from Chandra Gupta I the title is "*Great king of kings*." (*An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1994, p.301). But our epigraphic evidence shows how the term *sāmanta* had acquired a specific meening *i.e.*, vassal and how the categories of vassal-overlord relations were indicated by the use of adjectives in technical sense.

36. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol.vi, p.208.

37. *Arthaśāstra*, ix.1.18; xii.1.10-12.

38. *Ibid*, xii.1,11.

39. *Ibid*, vii.15.20.

40. *Ibid*, vii.16.17.

41. *Ibid*, vii.16.23.

43. For'Allegiance' Vide Carl Joachim Friedrick's article in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. i, pp.644-646.

44. A Kharoshṭhī Inscription of Sona varma, king of Odi, edited and Tr. by H.W.Bailley in JRAS, 1980-81.

45. The Bactrian Inscription, Tr. by W.B.Honning in BSOAS,1959, pp.50-51.

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CAUSATION IN HISTORY: SOME ASPECTS

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E.H.Carr has stated that " the study of history is a study of causes......sometimes the causes and laws were thought of in mechanical, sometimes in biological terms, sometimes as metaphysical, sometimes as economic, sometimes as psychological . . . history consisted in marshalling the events of the past in an orderly sequence of cause and effect. The historian deals in a multiplicity of causes . . . .the true historian confronted with the list of causes of his own compiling , would feel a professional compulsion to reduce to order, to establish some hierarchy of causes which would find their relation to one another, perhaps to decide which cause, or which category of causes, should be regarded in the last resort or `in the final analysis` as the ultimate cause.[1]

According to Henri Poincare science was advancing simultaneously 'towards variety and complexity and towards unity and simplicity and that this dual and apparently contradictory process was a necessary condition of knowledge.[2] This also applies to history.

The search for cause in history is as old as history itself. Herodotus, the father of historiography reflects - 'human life was like a revolving wheel, cities like individuals, witnessed changes in their fortunes: some of the great cities of past had become small and some of the small towns had grown into big cities. If nobody remained prosperous for long and no city continued long in prosperity, it was because the gods are jealous of success.[3] Herodotus emphasizes on human and natural elements, it is not the property of any soil to produce fine fruits and good soldiers too.[4] His objective in writing this great work was 'to preserve a memory of the deeds of the Greeks and the barbarians and in particular beyond everything else, to give the cause of their fighting one another'.

Thucidides dwelt on the natural and human elements to explain historical change.[5] On the one hand he focuses on calamities like earthquake and plagues, on the other hand he also emphasizes on impersonal causes. According to him the real cause of the Peloponnesian war was the growth of the Athenian power which alarmed its enemies. The cause of the subsequent Athenian

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decline was human mismanagement.[6] He also refers to 'the hand of Heaven' and the 'freak of chance'.[7]

Polybius talks of the working of fortune in its 'envious dealing with Mankind.[8] Yet he thinks that Fate should not be blamed where the cause of a disaster is a human folly.[9] "Thucydides was much interested in knowing the causes, discovering the motives and explaining the process, as he was in narrating the events. It was he who taught us the first fundamental truth of history namely that history is the study of events as facts which are attached to one each another in a relational, systematic and permanent order".[10]

Polybius has laid for greater emphasis on causation. He thinks that the historian, instead of giving bald narrative of events, should concentrate on their antecedents, concomitants and consequences. Otherwise it cannot help us in dealing with the future.[11]

Among the Roman historians Cato is called the father of Roman historiography. He was the first real Latin prose writer. According to him Rome's battles were won by the common soldiers and it was unjust to give glory to the generals. Livy believed that history should inculcate morals, teach civic virtues, promote patriotism, instill discipline and turn men into useful citizens. He is a utilitarian. However, Tacitus inquired into the processes and explained the phenomena.[12]

St.Augustine was the greatest Church historian. His work *City of God* in twenty two volumes is one of the greatest books of history. He propounded that God rules human affairs. The unknown and the uncontrollable elements in human history are referred to as fate. Fortune, destiny or chance by the Greek historians. Yet they attach importance to causation. The medieval church historians see everything as originating from the Omnipotent Will of the God.

Arab historiography, too, recognised the force of Divine will which is nearer to the Greek tradition in its rationality. The greatest Arab historian was Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 A.D). His most famous work is the '*Universal History*' wherein he has explained the nature of historical facts, their relationships, trends and problems and their regularities and variations. He equates the science of history with the science of culture. As regards the genesis of culture, he divides the causative factors into four groups-material causes, formal causes, efficient causes and final causes.

Among the material causes, he includes food, shelter, soil, vegetation, climate and all other material needs. He regards the state as the formal

cause. Abstract ideas like solidarity, harmony, moderation and justice are included among the efficient causes. The ideal of common goodness is called the final cause. Thus he considers economic factors as material ; political factors as formal; social factors as efficient and ethical-philosophical factors as final cause. He also believes that it is in the nature of every culture to undergo a change. The final cause for the growth of a culture is the identification and pursuit of happiness and welfare of a large section of society.[13]

In early 17th century Pascal published *Pensees* wherein he argued "Cleopatra's nose if it had been shorter, the whole face of earth would have been different ...so small a thing that we cannot recognise it, shake a whole country, princes, armies and everything." Pascal attached importance to the role of chance in human affairs to support the Christian doctrine of Providence.[14]

As against this, Descrates states that certain laws were being strictly observed in everything that is, or that happens in the world. The human body as well as world of nature appeared to work like a machine and the laws of nature appeared to be identical with the laws of mechanics.[15] Another school of historians postulated that 'history is, by and large, a chapter of accidents, a series of events determined by chance coincidences, and attributable only to most casual causes.[16]

The result of the Battle of Actium is attributed to Antony's infatuation with Cleopatra. When Bajazet was deterred by an attack of gout from marching into central Europe, Gibbon observed that 'an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man may prevent or suspend the misery of nations'[17] When king Alexander of Greece died in the autumn of 1920 from the bite of a pet monkey, this accident touched off a train of events which led Sir Winston Churchill to remark that 'a quarter of million persons died of this monkey's bite.[18]

In the modern period the discoveries and inventions in science greatly influenced social sciences like economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, archaeology and history by inculcating scientific thinking and methodology. Enlightenment historiography (1637 to 1804 AD) was followed by Romanticist historiography and positivist historiography.

Kant postulates the idea that the plans of nature are to the historian what laws of nature are to the scientist. The purpose of nature in creating man was the development of moral freedom and the course of human history could be conceived as working out of this development.[19]

Hegel in his *Philosophy of History* argues that the movement towards

freedom is ensured by the 'cunning of reason' through historical development which takes place not accidently but of necessity . Marx discovered 'the economic law of motion of modern society'.

Similarly Trotsky contracted fever while shooting ducks which put him out of action at a critical point of his quarrel with Zinoviev , Kamenev and Stalin in the autumn of 1923. Tratsky wrote "one can foresee a revolution or a war but it is impossible to foresee the consequences of an autumn shooting-trip for wild ducks.[20]

J.B.Bury argues that history unlike science, is governed by the fortuitous collision of two or more independent chains of causes and not by causal sequences which form the subject matter of science.[21]

Marx wrote in a letter on importance ot chance:'word history would have a very mystical character if there were no room in it for chance. This chance itself naturally becomes part of the general trend of development and is compensated by other forms of chance. But acceleration and retardation depend on such accidentals 'which include the 'chance'character of the individuals who are at the head of a movement at the out set.[22]

Trotsky, too, has commented on the role of accidents in history : 'The entire historical process is a refraction of historical law through the accidental' .In the language of biology we might say that the historical law is realised thrugh the natural selection of accidents.[23]

Carr finds the above theories unsatisfying and unconvincing.[24] Determinism of Hegel and Marx has also drawn much criticism. Carr defines determinism as the belief and everything that happens has a cause or causes, and could not have happened differently unless something in the cause or causes had also been different.[25]

Montesquieu defended the laws of history: 'If a particular cause like the accidental result of a battle, has ruined a state, there was a general cause which made the downfall of this state ensue from a single battle.'[26]

The same argument has been emphatically reiterated by Louis Gottschalk: 'If a kingdom can collapse because of a nail, the state of kingdom and not the history of nail should engage the historians' attention.[27]

According to Walsh, if human beings were perfectly rational and devoid of sentiments like love, hate, envy, frustration or anger, then it would be fully valid to apply formal logic to an understanding of their behaviour.[28]

If the individual is partially irrational, then this is also true of communities.

and societies constituted through the aggregation of individuals. For this reason, the social behaviour of individuals and human communities across time and space does not fully conform to the demands of formal logic. For this reason, formal logic is no substitute for historical logic.[29] Ravinder Kumar suggests that to understand the relevance of the concept of chance and determinism for the historical process, it may be worthwhile to divide different sectors of human life broadly into three concrete and related spheres each of which is associated with a somewhat distinct form of causation. At the base of the social world lies man's adaptive interaction with nature whose bearing on society can be predicted with reasonable measure of certainity. Much less susceptible to prediction and yet capable of revealing long term trends, are the enduring structures of society, its political and intellectual life and its economic organizations. At the third level of causation lie the conscious and unconscious actions of individuals and social groups which are never fully determined by the physical environment or the social circumstances. It is at this level of historical causation in the realm of thoughts and actions of men in society that the element of chance becomes operative.[30]

Sir Arnold Toynbee in his *Study of history* deals with three fundamental problems, namely the genesis, the growth and the decay of a civilization. For the genesis of a civilisation, a physical environment which is neither too favourable not too unfavourable and the presece of a creative minority are responsible. This creative minority keeps on adequately responding to the continuous challenges . for the growth of a civilisation a progressive and cumulative inward self direction or self articulation of the civilisation leads to etherialisation of society's values. Thus growth is an incessant creative withdrawl and return of the charismatic minority of the society. The declining phase consists of three sub-phases viz. the break-down of civilisation, its disintegration and its dissolution.[31]

L.Paul has referred to the working of the mind of a scientist: 'rummaging in the ragbag of observed facts, selects, pieces and patterns the relevant observed facts together, rejecting the irrelevant, until it has sewn together a logical and a rational quilt of 'knowledge'[32] E.H.Carr thinks that the mind of a historian, too, works in this fashion.[33]

E.H.Carr thinks that the study of causation in history enables a historian not only to comprehend the past and the present, but also the future: 'History begins with the handing down of tradition and tradition means the carrying of the habits and lessons of the past into the future...... Good historians, I suspect, whether they think about it or not, have the future in their bones.

Besides the question 'why' ? the historian also asks the question 'whither'?[34]

History is a stream of flux, continuity and change are the twin banks of this stream. If the historical process is dynamic, the causative factors too, have to be dynamic. If one set of causes were responsible for the conquest and ascendancy of some groups, races or countries in a particular period, they lose their importance and their cutting edge in the next epoch. As regards the genesis of civilization, the interaction between man and his physical, material, geographic environment was the basic cause. This was recognized by Ibu Khaldun then and is recognized even now. The creative minority responded to these challenges be it the heat of the tropics or the cold of Europe. Man was able to tame the nature to some extent, adapted to its conditions if he could not master it. This happened during and after the neolithic period.

Subsequent civilisations blossomed on foundation of expanding agriculture leading to spurt in trade and commerce, growth of urban centres, kingdoms and empires.

A very significant cause was also the interaction between different civilisations due to trade and travel leading to cross-fertilisation of ideas. Neither an individual nor a civilisation can progress in isolation. The example of the aborigins of Australia should suffice.

Upto the age of the scientific and the technological revolution, the semi barbaric nomadic hordes subsisting on hunting and animal husbandry had a definite edge over more civilised urbanized, settled, peace loving agrarian-trader-civilisations. Iron technology, then chariots and cavalry, then mounted archery and then the gun powder tilted the balance. The scientific-technological revolution mechanized warfare. All progress in technology is based on and is derived from basic and fundamental sciences. Progress in these basic and fundamental sciences is dependent on scientific temper and rational thinking. This scientific temper and rational thinking can grow only in a relatively free society where men are not hindered and stopped from asking 'why'. It can never grow in regimented and shackled societies where conformism and obedience to the established system and order stifles inquisitiveness.

In promoting free liberal, humane, democratic societies which are the nurseries of men with scientific temper, the foremost cause is an innovative system of education which can help in the blossoming of the entire range of human potential-from music to mathematics, from physics to philosophy

among people who comprise the creative minority.

The ultimate cause of historical change is the human urge to promote universal weal through conscious effort-the human will.

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THUCYDIDES AND INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Well acquainted with Greek and Latin, the early European scholars visiting India were amazed to find the striking analogies between Greek and Sanskrit languages and Vedic and Greek deities in their names and functions despite geographical and linguistic barriers. In Sanskrit they found the closest equivalents of the Greek inflections. These similarities led them to believe in the common origin of the two people in the past. The theory of Indo-European was propounded and attempts were made to reconstruct the Indo-European lexicon also.

Beginning with language and mythology the further studies revealed many phases and levels of interaction between the two cultures. The resulting exchanges between ancient India and ancient Greek led to many affinities which are apparent in several spheres of human endeavour such as language, literature, philosophy, arts, myths, fables, medicine, astronomy and astrology. The Sanskrit word for Greeks is Yavana in ancient Indian texts and inscriptions. Its usage later becoming for foreigners in general bears testimony to the fact that the Greeks had dominated the Indian scenario for a considerable period. On account of their knowledge the Greeks were greatly revered in ancient Indian society.[1] The Greek texts include many lengthy accounts and a great amount of scattered notes on everything connected with India and the Indians.

There are various manifestations in both the cultures which undoubtedly represented creative interaction at different levels of syncreticism, but not all such similarities can be explained as the results of mutual influences. Some of them may be recognised as encapsulated memories and may be traced to common origins in the past, while the others can be viewed as parallel stages of development that mark the culture evolution of each country. Whatever the position may be, the Greek phenomenon continued to dominate the minds of scholars, working on ancient India. There has been a tendency among indologists to view the Indian things often in the light of the Greek counterpart-whether it is empire or republic, tragedies or epics, myths or fables, state or society, philosophy or science or any such area, the Greek counterpart was mostly taken into view. Even when they drift apart the

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causative factors responsible for these differences are analysed. The parallelism between these two civilisations had greatly fascinated the early indologists. In recent years, the Graeco-Indian studies have again gained much attention.[2]

In the domain of historical literature the picture is altogether different. It is to be noted that with the single exception of the text *Rājataraṅgiṇī* on history of Kashmir(12th c.A.D.) there is no work in Sanskrit literature which may be regarded as Thucydides or Herodotus type of history.

The emergence of historical writing is often associated with the development of scientific spirit. The growing reliance on human reason and a diminishing dependence on the gods in every aspect of Greek civilization is said to have influenced historians to rise above myths and miracles. Thucydides recognized that a work of history was a creation of rational mind and not an expression of the poetic imagination.

Should we assume that the absence of scientific attitude in India which seeks to find natural cause for events of nature, was the main factor for the absence of history in India? It may be pointed out here that there is hardly any branch of human knowledge or any topic of human intrest which has not been adequately represented in enormous ancient Indian literature. But surprisingly, neither the age of Upanishadic philosophy(900-700B.C.) nor of Buddha and Mahāvīra (600B.C.), nor of the Mauryas (324-200B.C.), Kushāṇas (200-300 A.D.) and the golden age of the Guptas (320-550 A.D.),when the physicists like Āruni Uddālak, Pakudha Kātyāyana and many others had advanced theories on atomism and matter , Kauṭilya on statecraft, Charaka on medical science, Vātsyāyana on art of love, and the astronomer Āryabhaṭṭa had discovered the true causes of eclipse, the rotatory motion of the earth round the sun and many other brilliant scientific truths, could produce a single historical work. Curiously enough the only survived historical text *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was produced in an age when the creativity of Indian was at its lowest ebb. Thucydides belonged to a period, in which reason, freedom and humanism were considered to be the main Greek tenets but it should also be kept in mind that he was in an age when the Greek military operations were guided by the position of the sun and moon; the disastrous defeat in Peloponnesian war was seen as the effect of an eclipse; when Anaxagoras was condemned to death by the general assembly of Athens because he denied that the sun and moon were divine beings; when the study of astronomy was forbidden and the Athenian democracy forced Socrates to put an end to his life by poison for not worshipping the gods whom the city worshipped. The absence of history thus can hardly be examined for the lack of scientific temper in ancient India.[3]

The Greek example shows that war particularly caused by the feeling of nationalism was a powerful motivation for the writing of history. The spirit of cultural nationalism had united the small *polis* states of Greece under the Anthenian leadership to fight against the mighty Persian Empire. The Persians were heavily defeated. The heroic feat of the Greeks became the subject theme of the first Greek historical treatise. Encouraged by the war theme of Herodotus, Thucydides had found the same epic quality in the event of Peloponnesian war, where too the greed and ambition had instigated the desire for power. The absence of such a situation in India has been correlated with the absence of history. It is argued that since such nationalist feeling and stubborn resistance of the power could be aroused mostly in the democratic system as developed in Greece, it is not observed in India to the same measure. How far it is correct, is difficult to say. On account of the paucity of material we know really too little of Indian history to form a definite conclusion on this point, but the heroic fighting of democratic peoples in north-west India and Punjab against Alexander, the prolonged opposition of confederate democratic states of north-east India against the growing power of Magadha and the successful fight of the Mālavas,the Yaudheyas and other republic states against the foreign conquerors, contradict the way of correlating the history writing with war and nationalism.[4]

It has been further argued that Indians did not lack sense of history for we have numerous references to attest that the study of history was highly valued in ancient India. In Upanishadic and Brnāhmanical literature, this branch of knowledge has been designated as *Itihāsa Veda*.[5] We know that the Vedas are considered to be the most sacred texts of the Hindus. It is believed that they are not the creation of human beings. To look *Itihāsa* as one of the Vedas is obvious to explain the Indian concept of history. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, a treatise on ancient Indian polity, advises a king to spare time in afternoon for listening *Itihāsa*. In the study of *Itihāsa*, Kauṭilya has included Purāṇa (traditional history), *Itivṛitta* (chronicles), *Ākhyāyikā* (legends), *Udāharaṇa* (examples of great men), *Dharmaśāstra* (rules governing the society) and *Arthaśāstra* (polity and economics)[6] in his book.

While looking towards the past two attitudes may be adopted. If it is understood as dead past, one feels the necessity of recording it. As declared in the opening line of *Historia*, the aim of Herodotus in writing history was "to preserve the memory of past by putting on record the astonishing achievements of both Greek and Asiatic peoples."[7] But if the aim is to carry

the past from one generation to another so that it may remain alive, its recording in writing is not needed for instance in south India the Vedic sacrifices are conducted exactly in the same manner as 3000 years ago. The changes in the *Mahābhārata* were made fom time to time in accordance with the changing society. The Purāṇas were modified and enlarged till recent times.

Such differences between Indian and Greek understanding of the past have been explained as the results of their differing value systems. In any particular society or culture only those things are preserved which it considers valuable and necessary for itself. The ancient Greeks and Chinese recognised state as the ultimate institution for the development of human beings. To quote Aristotle "the state came into existence for the sake of life and continued for the sake of good life." In India the temporal power was never regarded as supreme. This is the reason why we have Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon in Greece whose emphasis were on rise and fall of the empire, conquests and defeats and all those memories which should be preserved in a society striving for an ideal state but underrated in India, where not state, but *Dharma* and spiritual values were accepted as supreme end. Thus it is viewed that Indians accept saints and sages as maker of history-not for themselves but for all mankind. This is the significance of *avatāra* (incarnation), the descent of God, and implies that the Divine incarnates himself as men in order to restore harmony in the world. Thus the goal of history is to make existence divine or spiritualised, so as to realise perfect freedom, total and undivided.[8]

The belief that nothing new happens, makes history a futile exercise. The famous German scholar Schopenhauer who had studied Upanishads and other Indian literature, remarks on the Indian attitude towards history as under:

"The true philosophy of history consists in the insight that in all these endless changes and their confusions we have always before us only the same, even, unchanging nature, which today acts in the same way as yesterday and always. Thus it ought to recognise the identical in all events, of ancient as of modern times, of the East as of the West, and, in spite of all differences of the special circumstances of the costumes and customs, to see everywhere the same humanity. This identical element which is permanent through all change consists in the fundamental qualities of the human heart - many bad, few good. The motto of history should run: *Eadem, sed aliter*."[9]

The Greek conception of Cycle of Ages has something similar to Indian

idea. It considered "the history of the universe a natural process in which everything recurred in periodical circles, so that nothing new ever happened." In the Indian concept an ageless wisdom is revealed and re-revealed through the cycles of ages. It was in fact St. Augustine, who had introduced the modern evolutionary idea of time. According to him "human life is a unique, unrepeatable phenomenon, it has an individual history in which everything that happened was new and had never been before."[10]

On the basis of just Herodotus' and Thucydides' writings we should not generalise the Greek concept of history. In fact the history as we understand it in modern times or as it appears in Thucydides was not a general phenomenon in ancient Greece. In several respects the Greeks were unhistorical and resemble the Indians. To both Indians and Greeks, history moved on cycles; events and periods constantly repeated themselves. The Greeks in general had little interest in history. Unlike the Hebrews, they had little awareness of historical uniqueness and progression. The intellectuals of first rate at both the places were interested more in philosophy than in history. Like Indians, fixing their minds on eternal truths, the Greeks were largely indifferent to history. Not one man after Thucydides among Greek historians shared his passion. Only among a few scientists, Aristotle and his disciples, we find something comparable, but they never took history seriously.

Both in India and Greece the distant past, glorified in myths and legends had a great fascination. The ancient Greeks were never tired of learning from Homer and the tragic poets. Similarly Indians too are deeply attached to their Epic and Purāṇic heroes. Myths and half truths in India and Greece performed two functions: they gave a feeling of continuity and nationhood and they were the sources of religious and moral teachings. Neither of these purposes required precise chronology, accurate details or complete documentation. In short, there seemed to be no need for history as the modern men understand it, both in ancient India and ancient Greece.[11]

There appears to be an over emphasis among Indologists both Indian and western, to distinguish Indian and Greek attitudes towards history to their differing value systems. It is true that Indians did not have Thucydides' type of work before *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, but they cannot be designated ahistorical or dissimilar to Greeks just on this basis. They had written historical literature in chronicles or idealized portraits of individual characters in *Charita* (biography) literature. There were then historical inscriptions which furnish valuable historical data and are of high literary merit. It appears difficult to conceive a situation in which an author likes to portray a historical person or event

in crude form but refrains himself from giving it a truly historical shape in a developed literary form with which he was fully aware. Therefore some Indian scholars entertain the belief that there were many historical texts before *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, but they have all perished. In support of the view that many historical texts of ancient India have perished, the statement of Kalhaṇa is often quoted, who refers to a large number of historical texts to which he had an access, but which are no longer available. A similar instance is furnished by the *Arthaśāstra*, which too refers to many previous works on the subject which have not entirely disappeared. To believe in the wholesale destruction of historical works only, appears to be untenable. It would be strange indeed that only the standard literary works on history were made victims and that also in such a thorough manner that only a single representative work survives to tell the tale of this destruction. In fact the problem is not the lack of historical writings of which we have number of specimens, particularly in chronicles, but the finished work like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa or Thucydides' Peloponnesian War. This fact seems to be more an accident than the result of any definite cause or causes.[12]

It is the war history which is dominant in Greek historical works. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius-all had interest in war. Thucydides saw too that the struggle between Athens and Sparta had something like Trojan war and Persian wars of the epic quality and so like Herodotus he thought it necessary to record the events of Peloponnesian war for posterity. In the very first sentence of his work he proclaims himself a conscious rival of Herodotus.

Thucydides of Athens wrote the history on war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, beginning it as soon as war broke out and believing that it would be a great war and more worthy of record than any preceding one, on the evidence that both sides went into it at the height of preparedness and seeing the rest of the Greek world taking one side or the other, either immediately or after consideration.[13]

The Greeks went on fighting in their history with little intermission. The Greek mythology is replete with the satisfaction shown by the gods in the process and military successes of their human proteges. It has been shown that Athens alone was at war on average more than two years out of every three between the Persian wars and the defeat by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea in 33 B.C. and that it never enjoyed 10 consecutive years of peace in all that period. War was considered to be a natural condition of human society. Neither historians nor philosophers ever asked the questions

- why war? The Cretan speaker Clinus says in Plato's *Laws* (626A) " What most men call peace is merely an appearance, in reality all cities are by nature in a permanent state of undeclared war against all other cities."[14]

The Spartans in Greece had the sentimental view of war. For them it was by no means a necessary evil; it was the noblest form of human activity. Tyrtaeus, the poet they adored expressed to perfection their romantic emotions as under:

The youth's fair form is fairest when he dies.

Even in his death the boy is beautiful.

The hero boy who dies in his life's bloom.

He lives in men's regret and women's tears.

More sacred than in lie, more beautiful by far.

Because he perished on the battlefield.[15]

The Athenians were realistic in their attitude towards war as towards everything else. Thucydides reports Pericles (Orat.,II,6.35 off.) as delivering over those who had fallen in battle, does not urge his hearers to go and do, likewise, but bids them pray that if they fight it will be in less dangerous circumstances. War was a bad business in Athens. Nevertheless it was necessity; the only way a state could take what belonged to others and, having taken, keep it. This was a business like approach in which war could, of course be very profitable.

So far as the ancient Indian texts are concerned , although many similar Greek and Indian views on the necessity of war may be cited, the ethos of Indian culture appears to be different. While the Vedas are sufficiently warlike and Brāhmanism gives a consecration to the warrior caste, the mild spirit of Hinduism tended to view war under the repugnant aspect of murder:- 'Alas! we are engaged in commuting a heinous sin, seeing that we are making efforts for killing our own kinsmen out of greed of the pleasures of sovereignty. If the sons of Dhṛitrāshṭra weapon in hand, should kill me in battle, me weaponless and not defending (myself) that would be better for me," speaks Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*. The influence of Buddhism and Jainism was cast on the same side.' If you desire to honour Buddha', said a brāhmaṇa who successfully mediated between two belligerants, follow the example of his patience and long suffering', 'conquer your foe by force, you increase his enemity, conquer by love and you will reap no after-sorrow.'[16] Even in the war-epic *Mahābhārata* which is often compared to *Iliad*, the conventional heroism is transformed into the moral heroism of disinterested action, and

ultimately the end of life is seen not in death, but in resignation. Whereas the dire wrath is the theme of the *Iliad*, the serenity or calmness is the essence under which may be comprehended the *Mahābhārata*. Likewise it is the compassion which dominates in the war epic *Rāmāyana*.[17] Indian history remembers saints, philosophers and philospher kings like Menandros and Aśoka. Alexander's invasion despite its being the most important event of its type, is nowhere mentioned in Indian source. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in India, writes that the Indians had never been attacked by others nor had themselves attacked others.[18]

To conclude from these references that there were no or very few wars in ancient India, will be unwise for no nation can survive without wars. But war was considered to be the last resort among the four options defined for a state. According to Manu the king should try to conquer his foes by conciliation (*sāma*), by (well applied) gifts (*dāma*), and by creating dissension (*bheda*) used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting (*daṇḍa* if it can be avoided). For when two (princes) fight, victory and defeat in the battle are, as experience teaches, uncertain, let him therefore avoid an engagement. (But) if even those three before mentioned expedients fail, then let him, duly exerting himself, fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies.[19]

The ruling warrior class of the kshatriyas was as interested in war as in philosophy and theosophy. Its chivalric code of *kshātradharma* was highly evolved. History of ancient India has few tales to tell of cities put to the sword or of the massacre of non-combatants. A battle was ideally a gigantic tournament with many rules. Manu says, "a warrior when he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood); nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire. Let him not strike one who (in flight) has climbed on an eminence; nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands (in supplication); nor one who (flees) with flying hair; nor one who sits down; nor one who says 'I am thine;' nor one who sleeps; nor one who has lost his coat of mail; nor one who is naked; nor one who is disarmed; nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight; nor one who is fighting with another (foe); nor one whose weapons are broken; nor one afflicted (with sorrow); nor one who has been grievously wounded; nor one who is in fear; nor one who has turned to flight; (put in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors)."[20]

Homage and not annexation was the rightful fruit of victory. Megasthenes

states that peasants would till their fields peacefully even when a battle was raging nearly, for the crops were left undisturbed.

The desire for autonomy was very strong among *polis* states of ancient Greece. The *polis* although in theory were autonomous units, aiming neither at expansion, nor at conquest, were in perpetual conflicts in reality. The bigger dominated the small and the great powers of Greece were always engaged in struggle for hegemony or establishing empire. It is not in Plato and Aristotle but in Thucydides we find the best analysis of the Greek theory of Empire. For the justification of the empire which the Athenians had built, Thucydides has plenty to say through Athenians. There was sometimes an uneasy feeling that in its origin, the empire was perhaps wrong. But these misgivings were transient. The Athenian speakers at the congress at Lacedaemon pointed out that the empire had been almost thrust upon Athens. Nor had it created a new precedent, 'for it has always been the law that the weaker should be subject to the stronger.'[21] When Athenian character had deteriorated through years of war and tyranny, the principle that 'Might is Right' was put forward naked and unashamed. "That right as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must," say the Athenian envoys in the Melian Conference.[22]

But this is not the only ground on which Athens defended her empire, an even stronger one was the plea of self-interest, a business like pragmatic approach. Pericles, when he confessed that to take empire was perhaps wrong, added, 'but to let it go is unsafe.'[23] The same view was expressed, in greater detail, by the Athenian speakers at Peloponnesian Congress. 'At last when almost all hated us, when some had already revolted and been subdued, when you had ceased to be the friends you once were and had become objects of suspicion and dislike, it appeared no longer safe to give up our empire, especially as all who left us fall to you. And no one can quarrel with a people for making, in matters of tremendous risk, the best provision that it can for its interest.'[24] 'Fear, honour and interest,' they say combined to forbid any surrender of the empire. It was to the empire that Athens owed her position as the leading Greek state of the time. To abandon the empire would be to relegate herself. As Alcibiades put it, "we cannot fix the exact point at which our empire shall stop; we have reached a position in which we must not be content with retaining but must scheme to extend it, for, if we cease to rule others, we are in danger of being ruled ourselves."[25]

It was not only in the self-interest for which the justification of empire

was explained. The Athenians also explained the gains and advantages of the conquered. In the words of Pericles, Athens was the school of Hellas: she charged high fees but provided a first class education. If the allies paid her tribute, she gave them something that often cannot be bought with money; she gave them civilization. She taught them not only through her art and literature but through her law, her wide outlook, her institution of liberty and self government." To some extent Athens led the Greeks from the old, narrow ideal of the city-state to the possibilities of a larger political unit, and many of the allies were freed from the burden of oppressive oligarchies. Pericles could with some justice say that "Athens alone of her contemporaries is found when tested to be greater than her reputation, and alone gives no occassion her assailants to blush at the antagonist by whom they have been worsted, or to her subject to question her title by merit to rule."[26] The lot of Greek cities was far more tolerable under Athens than under Persia or even under Sparta. Living as subjects under Athenians there were more gains in the development of culture and civilization, but the subjects preferred autonomy and isolation to the gains they derived from their association with Athens. Athens maintained that it was due to very mildness of its rule and because it always acted in accordance with law and justice that the allies were emboldened to complain. It was the first self conscious imperialism that attempted to defend itself by reason and the arguments it used are those, which, allowing for changes in circumstances, have reappeared from age to age.

In ancient India except under the Mauryan and Gupta kings, when much of north India was under one sceptre, many factors prevented the unification of the recognized cultural unit of Bhāratavarsha, which so many ambitious monarchs had desired. The idea of empire in ancient India was something very different from Greece or to which the West is accustomed. There was the idea of "righteous conquest or conquest according to the sacred Law" (*dharmavijaya*) which Hindu kings were expected to follow, and it is evident that they usually did so. Thus the *Mahābhārata* declares:

> "A king should not attempt
> to gain the earth unrighteously
> for who reveres the king
> who wins unrighteous victory?
> Unrighteous conquest is impermanent
> and does not lead to heaven."[27]

The doctrine that war should be waged for glory and homage rather than for sordid aims such as wealth and power, grew in importance with the fall of the Mauryas, and was accepted by the medieval quasi-feudal order. In righteous conquest the defeated king was forced to render homage and tribute, after which he or a member of his family was reinstated as a vassal. The south, however, inheriting a fierce Dravidian tradition had a more realistic approach; here conquests with annexation was more common, as well as ruthlessness towards captives, but even the south was not unaffected by the ideal of the "righteous conquest."[27]

Quite different is the *Arthaśāstra* in India which like Thucydides adopts practical approach in justifying conquests and empire. Its author Kauṭilya, the teacher and mentor of Chandragupta Maurya is said to have master minded the creation of Mauryan empire. The writing of the *Arthaśāstra* coincides with the coming of Alexander and his armymen on the Indian soil. The meeting of Chandragupta with Alexander at some place in north-western region has been reported in Classical writings. The example of Alexander must have influenced the teacher and disciple, who were eye witness to his heroic feats. For the first time they had seen a universal king in reality. Encouraged by the example of Greek emperor, Chandragupta Maurya had succeeded in establishing the biggest empire in Indian history. The creation of a text like *Arthaśāstra* on war, political thought and practical politics appears to have been the result of Greek influence. Breloer says that when the *Arthaśāstra* teaches the laying waste of land (at the time of siege), the teaching may have been derived from foreign sources; he refers to Alexander who had carried out such complete devastation in the course of his expedition. The aphorism "Might is Right," which occurs in Thucydides, is said to be a policy in the *Arthaśāstra*. The whole work appears to have been written for a king who aspires to become an emperor on the Mauryan model and such a king could not be advised to embark on war lightly.

Besides the righteous conquest (*dharmavijaya*) the *Arthaśāstra* also mentions two more types. The second is the conquest for wealth and power (*lobhavijaya*) in which enormous booty is demanded and large portions of enemy territory are annexed. The third involves annihilation of the conquered kingdom and its incorporation in that of the victor (*asuravijaya*).[29] Except the *Arthaśāstra*, these two latter types have been disapproved in all the ancient Indian texts.

In fact it is not quite correct to say, as does Basham that the *Arthaśāstra* evidently looks on conquests of demonaic variety as the most profitable

and advisable.[30] The section on *dandopanayivṛitam* (chap. 7.16) requires that the conqueror should treat with due consideration the king subjugated by him. Of course it preaches the ideal of conquest, but it is not merely that. It is also a guide to withstanding of imperialism. Infact its teaching is intended for all kings, for the weak king being attacked, as much as for the strong, ambitious king.[31] The existence of numerous small autonomous states has been a general feature of ancient Indian polity. Even the centralized empire of the Mauryans had to make adjustments with this trait. Both from the *Arthaśāstra* and Megasthenes' account, may be corroborated by the autonomous small states within the empire. The task of uniting tribes and peoples differing in languages, political systems and levels of social development into a single centralized system was not easy to accomplish in Indian circumstances. Mauryans tried to solve the problem by building up such form of state, which would retain the existing institution in their newly established empire. The preservation of old forms and their adjustment to new conditions was the policy adopted by the Mauryans.[32] The Athenian empire as represented in Thucydides was a mild one although the states were not autonomous.

War in classical Greece was accepted as a natural form of human behaviour. Marx had accepted this phenomenon as the basic form of social structure. In India too, war was accepted as a normal activity of the state, but at some stage of her history the doctrine of non-violence also became very influential. Influenced by the doctrine of non-violence in modern times, Mahatma Gandhi developed an approach which recognises not war but love as basic instinct of men. According to Gandhi, "if history is '*Itihāsa*', which means it so happened, it is possible to furnish copious evidence of love in action. But if it means the doing of kings and emperors, there can be no evidence of soul force or passive resistance in such history. You cannot expect silver ore in a tin mine. "History as we know it", writes Gandhi, "is a record of the war of the world, and so there is a proverb among Englishmen that a nation which has no history that is no wars, is a happy nation and if this were all that happened in the world, it would have ended long ago. If the sky of the universe had commenced with wars, not a man would have been found alive today.... The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world, shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. History then is a record of an interruption of the course of nature. Soul-force being natural is not noted in history."[33]

This notion of history contains two crucial parts, one of which is perhaps

open to debate and one perhaps not. What is perhaps open to debate is Gandhi's contention that man's nature is basically non-violent and its natural mode of action is through the use of soul-force. While pleading for non-violence we may also say that 'favour non-violent not because they are non-violent by nature, but because they find violence of little use in attaining their objectives. This may be remarked a utilitarian argument based on a cost benefit analysis of war and violence. This is contrary to utilitarian argument of Thucydides which recognises the necessity of war because it was the only way in which state could take what belongs to others. In this approach war was very profitable. In modern circumstances utilitarian Gandhi appears to be more relevant and would be more universally acceptable. Gandhi himself does not sort out these issues. For him non-violence was his faith, religion and way of life, and violence not only useless but also immoral and hence cannot be legitimate. The second part which is perhaps not open to debate is Gandhi's attack on history recording wars and deeds of kings and emperors only and remaining unconcerned with ordinary human beings and their every day life. It is interesting that Gandhi raised this question in 1908. It is only recently that professional modern historians have begun to raise such issues. In the field of Indian historiography, the subaltern school is doing precisely this kind of micro history.

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PROF. B.N.S. YADAV AS A PIONEER OF ALLAHABAD SCHOOL OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Om Prakash*

History Department of Allahabad University was at the height of its Prasad Era when B.N.S Yadava was a post-graduate student. But like a healthy cell, this department was also at the verge of dividing itself because a single body was incapable of containing all the inherent fertility of thought and research. Emphasis on political and administrative history during Prasad Era, was making archaeologists like G.R.Sharma and ideological historians like G.C.Panday restless. Researches of K.Chattopadhyaya, P.K.Acharya and G.N.Jha of the Sanskrit Department, R.D.Ranade of the Philosophy Department and N.N Ghosh of the History Department were questioning the unchallenged supremacy of medieval and modern history in the History Department and were bringing into being the importance of ancient Indian history and culture. The surcharged atmosphere of struggle for independence at Allahabad was further imparting a romantic attraction of these trends of study and research in ancient Indian history, culture and arcaeology. Under the stress of this unrest a new department called Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology was born with entirely new aspirations seeking to crystallise the elements characterising the ferment. Archaeology and social history were the two among the many significant trends of historical studies which assumed the position of leadership in the newly started department. G.R.Sharma and B.N.S.Yadava were their respective pioneers.

Social history ramified from indological studies of K.Chattopadhyaya and ideological studies of G.C.Pandey who was anxious to integrate social, economic and ideological manifestations of Indian culture to its spiritual essence and brining it in line with his definition of culture as value seeking.[1] With a view to realizing the scheme he allotted three topics to three of his distinguished research students:'Some aspects of society in Northern India in Twelfth Century' to B.N.S Yadav, 'The Economic Life in Northern India from 700A.D. to 1200A.D.to Lallanji Gopal, and 'City and City life in Ancient India' to U.N Roy. The reason why he chose early medieval

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rather than ancient period for the historical study of the first two of these phenomena may be inferred from his following statement forming a part of the foreward of Yadava's published book which appeared in 1973, 17 years after its submission as a doctoral dissertation on which the University awarded its D.Phil degree. "The study of the period" writes Pandey, "is possible only on the basis of an extensive study of the earlier period as of all the varied sources of information Indian and foreign, literary and archaeological."[2] He also perhaps hoped to illumine through these studies by *dehlī-dīpaka-nyāya*, the succeeding ages of Indian history. Although each of his distinguished disciples fulfilled his expectations in these respects, but they also disappointed him in respects of 'the most consistent fit for the facts as a whole.'[3] In respect of Yadava he feels 'at some places, however, his practice is not equal to his precept', by precept he means indiscriminate use of the term feudalism the danger of which Yadava himself warns against.

The question of medievalism and feudalism

It is clear from the appreciation of Yadava's book by G.R.Sharma in the introduction of the book itself that the work deals with the key questions of medievalism and feudalism, particularly their social configuration in the twelfth century.[4] In the preface Yadava too states that his predecessors in the field *viz.*C.V.Vaidya, H.C.Ray, G.C.Ojha and authors of relevant volumes of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* edited by R.C.Majumdar and A.D.Pusalker in giving a new dimension to the problem relating to the Turkish conquest and heightened the significance of the question of medievalism together with feudalism in the Indian context .[5] But he nowhere spelt out what these questions of medievalism and feudalism were? He only stresses on further enquiry in a proper historical perspective and starts enumerating the vast variety of source material he has tackled.

G.R.Sharma claims that the book tackled the vexed questions of feudalism and the medievalism and has thrown fresh light on the development, nature and range of the feudal phenomenon. D.N.Jha himself a noted historian of feudalism, while reviewing the book in the pages of *Indian Historical Review*, feels that a scientific history cannot be written on a portmanteau formula Yadava applies while emphasizing the need of a critical analysis of various models of feudalism and their possible applicability to Indian situation which would pave the way, according to him, for a better understanding of the feudal social formation in India. He thinks that Yadava has missed the point.[6] The reason for the disappointment of Jha appears to be the fact

that Yadava has not reduced his historical treatment of the social phenomenon in the twelfth century to what he calls feudal social formation. That is to say Yadava does not assign centrality to feudalism to the extent Marxist historiography requires. He falls short of ideal of a committed Marxist historian in the assessment of this reviewer although he has raised the question of the similarity between feudalism and *sāmanta* system as early as 1956 without calling it Indian variety of feudalism or Indian feudalism and also without insisting that the Indian feudalism-cum-*sāmanta* system constitutes an essential element, at the same time Indian history and Marxist historiography, and may form the much needed ground to pin it upon .Yadava appears to deliberately leave the exercise to be attempted by more committed Marxist historians like D.N.Jha and R.S.Sharma and rests content in dishing out to them fresh and untouched materials from the explored and inaccessible terrain of the sources of Indian history.

By the time Yadava published his thesis in the form of a book in 1973, the sun of Indian feudalism was shining at its brightest and historian of Yadava's calibre, with so great a mastery of sources and precept and models of historiography could have easily turned his coat and become a staunch Marxist for basking in the highly profitable sunshine of the day. But he did not do it. Why? Was there a commitment to the contrary? Commitment to retain his originality? Has this originality something to do with the requirements of what may be called the Allahabad School of History?

Yadava preferred to be a historian of the realm underlying the monumental superstructures of urbanization or deurbanisation in a historiography centred on Indian feudalism, which requires a good deal of hammering, filing and calibration, not to speak of putting under the carpet the recalcitrant elements of infrastructural realm to make them neatly fall into the given specification of the superstructure. Yadava cares for the ground realities of Indian social, political and economic landscape such as the factual rigidity of the *varṇas*, proliferation of castes, rise of landed aristocracy of brāhmaṇas, kshatriyas and Rājpūts- a category resulting largely from the absorption of foreign and indigenous tribes and flying into pieces of power structure promoting localism, warfare and chivalry, emergence of various kinds of non economic coercion leading to a number of tenure and modes of exploitations etc.These perhaps constitute, medievalism for Yadava, although, afraid of delivering finished historiographical superstructures he does not say so. He was able to expatiate these ground realities of early medieval northern India in 1956, although he was not able to publish it till 1973. That is why all this appears

to Jha just a rehearsal of a familiar picture of early medieval north Indian society the main ingredients of which were already analysed as elements of Indian feudal economy and polity by R.S.Sharma whose works appeared in the middle of the sixties. The difference between Yadava's approach and R.S.Sharma's approach, as understood by Jha, appears to be that while Yadava studies social structure, polity, economy and culture life of north India in the twelfth century in the background of contemporary feudal development, R.S.Sharma attributes all these to the unfolding of Indian feudalism. That is why he accuses Yadava of the lack of conceptual clarity and complains, "although the term feudalism occurs throughout his work more or less like a refrain, he has failed to examine its ramification in Indian context."[7] Needless to say, Jha wants Yadava to give up his inductive approach for a deductive one, committing himself to the monistic approach of Marxist historiography and exchange his Rankean loyalty to facts and fact-based hypotheses for the given Maxist model of universal feudalism with its Indian face as devised by R.S.Sharma. Medievalism may be nothing but a manifestation of feudalism for R.S.Sharma, but for the 'conceptual clarity' of Allahabad school of social history symbolized by Yadava, feudalism may not be more than a concomitant if not just a background of medievalism. You cannot submerge the entire phenomenon of medievalism into the principle of feudalism-Indian or foreign. If you do it, you are conceptualizing by pegeon-holding recalcitrant facts into a given hole rather than evolving a principle to understand a mass of facts from the facts themselves.

Reductionist approach renders many things superfluous, for the discursive character of knowledge disallows everything to fall into the given pattern of principle. It is this problem which is responsible for the introduction of the concepts of Asiatic Mode of Production and Superstructure in Marxism. Jha is seeking to hide this helplessness when he aggressively remarks: 'the last three chapters dealing with the pursuit of *kāma*, religion, education and literature have not been linked up with the main theme of the book, nor do they measure up to the standard of those on society and polity. This remark does not hold water unless one assumes that feudalism is the main theme of Yadava's book and its original plan was to reduce everything to it. But this assumption is more in the mind of Jha rather than in the pages of the book. Yadava makes no secret of this discussive approach and makes no effort to proclaim feudalism the central explanation any more than it deserves. To him perhaps the phenomenon of medievalism is broader and much more varied than of feudalism.

Futility of exclusive interpretation

If Yadava is accused by D.N.Jha of the lack of conceptual clarity, he is blamed by G.C.Pande of "near eclecticism which makes him depart in the present work from its original conception."[8] By eclecticism he means Yadava's tendency to discover some relevant truth in all interpretations offered by modern scholars some of them according to him, are "confusing and particularly smudge the structure of the chapter on the *Sāmanta* System and Landed Aristocracy."[9] This puts him, in Pande's opinion in the danger of tolerating contradictions.[10] That he analyses the concepts of feudalism clearly without being committed to the view which seeks to understand almost the entire history of India at least from the Śaka-Kushāṇa period to the 19th century in terms of feudalism, Pande appears to have no doubt. The conception from which Yadava deviates, according to Pande is not,therefore, the conception of feudalism which Jha accuses him of missing. This concept is perhaps the original idea behind the book which Pande might have had at the time of allotting the topic of Yadava's D.Phil. dissertation presented substantially in the form of his book. Obviously, the book could not come up to his satisfaction at least in some respect. He, however,does not expatiate the original conception of the book he refers to. He disapproves Yadava's tendency to admit all possible interpretations as equipoisable and refers to the dilemma always faced by social historians in terms of being satisfied either with piecemeal hypothesis or hold a systematic hypothesis and accuses Marxist historians of India and abroad of holding or appearing to hold general hypothesis almost a priori. He is happy that Yadava does not do so and prefers to test it by 'fit for the fact as a whole'.[11] But perhaps he is unhappy over his eclectic attitude towards modern interpretations as a substitute of formulating piecemeal of general hypothesis of his own and testing all other interpretations with reference to it while yet being ready to modify the moment recalcitrant evidence demands its revision. Historical evidence, according to him, is necessarily of incomplete nature because of being generally half lost, any reconstruction on their basis is bound to be tentative, the more general the hypothesis the more tentative it is. There is no question of its being held even as a hundred percent definitive truth, not to speak of their being held a priori.

But why is Yadava, in spite of so much learning and masterly grip over sources unable either to fully subscribe to Marxist conception of feudalism or to be bold enough to formulate his own explanation of the phenomenon of medievalism he is studying? Why is he not able to suppress the realities

of castes and clans for the sake delineating the dialectics of class struggle? Perhaps because he cannot deny all truth to feudalism even of Marxist conception, but he is also unable to bargain the historical realities and facts of regional or local differences for the requirements of a construct. In fact he appears to have lost faith in hypothesis of historical explanations formulated to exclude alternative interpretations. He wants to expose facts in their multifaceted richness and openness. He does not want to restrict it by the construct of a hypothesis general or particular, of others or his own . Mutually exclusive interpretations offered by modern scholars perhaps appear less exclusive and more complimentary to him. He perhaps wants to demonstrate this by honouring all interpretations to the extent they are complementary to each other. History, according to Yadava is, perhaps not raising innumerable but exclusive mole hills of interpretations. A common endeavour where instead of rejecting each other, efforts of each supplement and complement those of others.

Midway between medievalism and feudalism

If social history aspect of medievalism cannot be subsumed into the principle and institution of feudalism, can it be subsumed into ideas,values and institutions created by them? Twelfth century particularly is a century of catastrophic events, and anxiety to discover their causes naturally haunts the historians. It asks such questions as why was India repeatedly defeated and ultimately enslaved by the Turks? Why did they fail to unite even against devastating common crises? Was it a military failure ? Was it accidental? Was it institutional and/or systemic failure? Or did the basic texture of culture and structure, ideas and value fail? This is perhaps how the ever widening circles of enquiry drives historians from political and administrative history to social and cultural history. There is a school which gives a socio-economic answer to the above questions and lands itself ultimately on the soil of the Marxist concept of feudalism. But this answer is more economic, less social and the least cultural. As is admitted by Jha,"The study of the feudal social structure, however, has not received the attention it deserves and,therefore, has remained a gap in our knowledge of Indian feudalism. Yadava has tried to fill this and with considerable success."[12] But the gap caused by the near absence of the cultural structure in the knowledge of Indian feudalism does not even strike Jha and he declares the last three chapters of Yadava's book dealing with the pursuit of *kāma*, religion, education and literature as mere appendages and as relatively inferior to those on society and polity.[13]

If cultural fabric is an anathema somehow to be accommodated as

superstructure or dismissed as mere appendage in the Marxist agenda of Indian historiography, it constitutes the most important factor of what is called and condemned as Nationalist historiography by the Marxist. According to adherents of this agenda it is condemnable because it seeks to uncritically glorify the past and assign all defeats and disappointments to foreign interventions. It also stresses the need of revival rather than progress. But the question is can we reject our culture, our past altogether? Even if we do, shall it allow us to do so? For example, can you reject and destroy caste by the economic agenda or putting it under your intellectual carpet? Is economic nexus that which constitutes the Indianness of an Indian in a foreign society? Good or bad, cutural nexus is out there in its own right, whether we glorify it or condemn it. How it relates to society, economy and progress and other kind of nexus is another question. G.C.Pande understands culture as value seeking, and institutions as manifestations thereof. Ideas and values thus contribute the substratum of culture, according to him. And, therefore, that alone is of permanent value in history, everything else - political events, chronicling of social behaviour, and even catalogues of dance forms, art forms and literary forms - is of transitory significance. The heart of social history, according to Pande consists of ideas and values underlying social and cultural institutions and institutional relations. Its position lies midway between political history and history of ideas and values. He declares it to be Yadava's notion of social history.[14]

But the question arises is it not another way of blanket glorification of whatever belongs to our culture and tradition simply because it is a magnification of some noble idea or value? The inconvenient questions, however, are: what noble idea or value does the institution of untouchability represent? What noble idea or value do the appaling disabilities imposed on śūdrās and women signify in *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam* and *sunicaiva swapāke cha panditā samadar śinah* discourse? Can all this be explained as mere gap between theory and practice? If over two thirds of human population is discriminated and stands as an exception to the norm, what is the worth of that norm or ideal? With such a gigantic proportion of breach, can one still proclaim the rule representing a value? For most of the people, at such a pass even a value degenerates into disvalue and any culture based on it is bound to be a disculture. Yadava is, therefore, convinced of the impact of material consideration which more often than not subverts a cultural institution and transforms the value underlying it into disvalue. To that extent he appears to be inclined towards historical materialism rather to the idealistic approach of his revered teacher, but always with phenomenal care and caution characteristic

of his modest eclecticism bordering on tolerating contradictions. Modest but firm, Yadava stands midway between materialism and idealism not allowing either to reduce social history to itself. Social history of his conception lies not between political history and history of ideas and values, as Pande points out, but between the poles of materialism and idealism without being reduced to either. With materialists he is not ready to throw the baby along with bath water and dismiss all culture as mere appendage or superstructure of material reality, nor is he ready with the idealist to reduce it to some noble idea or value even if it is nothing but a patent tissues of disculture.

Elements of school in his handiwork

Ravinder kumar defined Allahabad school of history as liberal school of history perhaps in the sense that it is tolerant and open minded. It may also be construed to mean not strict or 'exact' and, therefore, 'unscientific'. Lallanji Gopal showed that Allahabad historians are not absolutely without teeth. Some of them have shown how this school found the highly patronized and promoted Marxist historiography imposing the model of feudalism on early medieval India as factually untenable. Others, like G.C.Pande, have thrown an idealistic challenge to the Marxist approach of historical materialism as practised in India besides raising the question of a holistic cultural view as against the truncated socio-economic view brushing aside all cultural achievements and assigning them to what constitutes the appendage or superstructure. Instead of facing these attacks by counter arguments and proving its supremacy by dialogue, the pampered school of Marxist historiography is trying to digest the opposition by a conspiracy of silence and by sticking label of 'liberalism' on it. In fact Marxist historians of India are not walking on the footsteps of Marx. Marx did not run away from arguments. He met both idealism and liberalism of his time by a radical counter attack, unlike the Marxist historians of India who appear to think that Marx has already argued against and condemned liberalism and idealism once and for all, whereas he did not depend on what earlier socialist had said against liberalism and idealism. In fact he puts even earlier socialist to task in order to prove that his brand of socialism alone was scientific. Marxist historians of India ,however, do not distinguish between the European liberalism and idealism of the time of Marx and Indian liberalism and idealism of today. They also do not care for facts making their position untenable in the Indian historical context. For them the nature of all opposition to their school is bound to be either liberal or idealistic which is necessarily a static philosophical position *purile* in character already refuted by Marx once and for all. Advocates

of progress, they deny progress to liberalism and idealism as well as to their own creed which *in spite of factually travelling to destruction in* Europe and U.S.S.R., is never allowed to walk beyond the formulations of Marx. If blindly following the leader, right or wrong and surrendering one's critical judgement of even facts are the essentials of a school of history, God save the Allahabad historians from such an identity. They are fine without such a commitment. If, however, school means the identity of a position critically and academically held and defended, there is an Allahabad school of history with distinct features of its own.

Take for instance, B.N.S. Yadava's position. It is critical of giving the entire range of medieval phenomenon a feudal identity, even though it does not reject the concept of feudalism altogether. It may be a good tool of analysis, according to him, for understanding some aspects of medievalism. He honours all interpretations for this worth after a critical evaluation but does not believe in fitting their worth to his own scheme of interpretation. How long shall we be piling up begged, borrowed or stolen models of interpretations and storing them up in the backyard of Indian history? He appears to be asking in an *unsaid* manner this fundamental question demonstrating thereby the futility of such laboured and model-bound interpretations. He is not an eclectic or conceptually unclear historian. He is only hinting at the poverty of both concepts and interpretation without being vocal and at the cost of being misunderstood. He knows that historians ruling the roost are not as fair as Marx. They may conspire to kill loud articulation contrary to their view not by counter arguments and critical repudiation but by just sticking a label. In all his modesty, Yadava is not a camp follower. He has respectfully distanced himself also from the school assigning value and value-seeking even to such monuments of Indian disculture as untouchability and disabling discriminations against all the *non-dvijas*, including women. But he does not altogether reject, the idealistic option either even for the sake of progress. By proclaiming the total worthlessness of your culture, you only jump out of your skin. Such a venture can only be described as suicidal. Position-wise Yadava's approach has thus an unmistakable identity, articulation-wise it is more wise than argumentative and attacking, but for this the unfair intellectual attitude of historians ruling the roost is responsible. With these features in view it can be safely proclaimed that the pioneer of Allahabad school of Indian history, B.N.S. Yadava has securely laid its foundation on the rock of critical understanding and an articulation, which is essentially wise but without much ado. To my mind there cannot be a more beautiful school of Indian-social history than this.

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A NOTE ON SOME DĀSA-ENDING NAMES IN THE ṚIGVEDA

V. B. Rao*

The names of some *Ṛigvedic* heroes such as Divodāsa and Sudāsa are significant in view of the hostile relations between the Aryans and the Dāsas during the early Vedic period. The *Ṛigveda* frequently refers to the enemies of the Aryans as Dāsas and Dasyus. According to K.C. Chattopadhyaya, the words Dāsa dn Dasyu have been used as exact synonyms.[1] Sushṇa, Ahi, Śambara and Namuchi have been interchangeably called Dāsas and Dasyus in the *Ṛigveda*. The epithets used for the Dāsas and Dasyus indicate that they were probably an ethnic and cultural group different from the Aryans. They are described as black-skinned (*kṛishṇa yoni*)[2] and noseless (*anāsa*)[3] and also as not worshipping or 'not sacrificing (*akarman*, *adevayu*, *abrahman, ayajvan* etc.).[4] They have also been called as speaking a strange language (*mṛiddhavāk*) and worshipping phallus and probably images as their deities (Śisnadevaḥ Mūradevaḥ).[5] The Dāsas and Dasyus, though backward through Aryan standards, were not uncivilised. Dāsas like Śambara had forts, ninety or ninety nine or a hundred in number which Indra claims to have destroyed.[6] The Ṛigvedic references to the destruction of the *puras* have been taken to be the references to the walled cities of the pre- Aryans[7] and the fight of Indra with Dāsas is interpreted as the struggle of the Aryans against pre-Vedic non-Aryans.[8] Piggot suggests that Indra's exploit of releasing the waters actually refers to the destruction of the bunds built to protect the Harappan cities from floods.[9] Some scholars including K.C. Chattopadhyaya, G.C. Pande and others, however, believe that Dāsas and Dasyus are demons. But this view may be complimentary rather than contradictory. It seems that the Vedic seers not only referred to their actual enemies whom they called Dāsas and Dasyus but also to their imaginary foes including the gods of their enemies, whom they described as demons. The description of the demons was based on their knowledge and experience of their actual foes. In this connection, we are reminded of the adjectives such as 'threeheaded' (*trisīrshanam*), sixeyed (*shaḍaksha*)[10] and bull-helmeted (*vṛishaśipra*)[11] used for the Dāsas in the *Ṛigveda*. These adjectives present before us a picture which bears close resemblance to the physical appearance of the Harappan god depicted on the seal no.420. It is also to be noted that horned dress

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is frequently found on the Indus seals. Here, we would like to point out that the *Ṛigveda* refers to people of a non-Aryan tribe named Vishāṇin[12] (with horned headdress) who fought in the *Daśarājña* battle against Sudāsa, but were defeated.[13] Significantly, the name of a tribe allied with Vashāṇin was Śiva, usually identified with the Siboi mentioned by the classical writers. Both these tribes were living not far from Harappa, which has probably itself been mentioned as Hariūpīā[14] in the *Ṛigveda*. The Ṛigvedic references to Śisnadevas and Mūradevas become more significant in the light of archaeological evidence found from Harappan sites. These adjectives of the Dāsas indicating the prevalance of phallic worship and image worship, also suggest close association of the Dāsas with the authors of Harappan civilisation whose religion was definitely iconic.

It is also evident from the above that the Ṛigvedic Aryans had contemptuous attitude towards Dāsas and Dasyus. Indra has been described as throwing the Dāsas downward in a cave.[15] A Ṛigvedic king of the Puru clan has been named as Trasadasyu. A passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us that Kavasha Ailūsha, a Vedic seer was insulted by another *Ṛisi* only because he was a Dāsīputra.[16] In such a cultural context, the names Divodāsa and Sudāsa naturally sound strange and need explanation.

D.R. Bhandarkar holds that the Ṛigvedic heroes Divodāsa and Sudāsa who are said to have been assisted by the Vedic gods, were Dāsas. He adds that Sudāsa was, of course, the hero of the Battle of Ten Kings, fought on the Parushṇī, but there were Arya and Dāsa allies on both sides. But he was also the grandson of Divodāsa Aithigva. And Hillebrandt seems to be right in interpreting the name as 'heavenly Dāsa' and believes that he was himself a Dāsa.[17] But it is difficult to accept the views of Bhandarkar, for we know that Divodāsa Aithigva, grand father of Sudāsa, belonged to the Bharata clan which had a prominent position among five important tribes of the Ṛigvedic period. He was also like his father Vadhryasva, an energetic supporter of the fire worship, for Angi is once called by his name in the *Ṛigveda*.[18] His great enemy was the Dāsa ruler Śambara whom he repeatedly defeated.[19] Like Divodāsa, his grandson Sudāsa was also a great protagonist of Aryan culture. He was assisted in his battles by the famous Vedic priests Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭhạ. His exploits against the Dāsa chief Bheda have been referred to in the *Ṛigveda*.[20] He was not only a great warrior, but also a great scholar and composer of hymns.[21] Therefore, the hypothesis that Divodāsa and Sudāsa were Dāsas can hardly be entertained.

The use of the suffix Dāsa in the names Divodāsa and Sudāsa may ,however, be explained in the light of the changes in the meaning of the word Dāsa which seems to have occurred mainly due to the changing attitude of the Aryans towards the Dāsas. It is generally believed that after initial stages of warfare, the process of understanding and adjustment started which resulted in the gradual fusion of the two cultures. Though certain groups of the Dāsas might have been keeping hostile relations with the Aryans, some of the Dasa chiefs were certainly friendly towards the Aryans. Our attention is drawn to a Dāsa named Balbūtha who generously gave gifts to the Vedic priests.[22] The authors of the *Vedic Index* take it as a clear piece of evidence for the friendly relations between the Aryans and Dāsas.[23] Vedic seers having sons from the Dāsīs (Dāsa women) were unknown.[24] Political alignment between the Aryans and the Dāsas is evident from the fact that the Bharata king Sudāsa had to face a confederacy of both the Aryans and non-Aryans chiefs in the *Daśarājña* battle. The commingling of the Aryans and the Dāsas influenced cultural life of the Ṛigvedic period to a certain extent. As suggested by several scholars, the language of the *Ṛigveda* betrays some Dravidian influence.[25] In Baluchistan we have a block of Brahui speech of Dravidian family which appears to be a surviving fragment of a widespread Dravidian tract. The recognition of the *Munis* and *Yatis* in the Ṛigvedic society also points to a gradual amalgamation of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultures. According to G.C. Pande, these *Munis* and *Yatis* were alien to the Ṛigvedic culture,[26] yet occassionally they have been called as friends of Indra and obeisance is made to them.[27]

In our opinion this gradual change in Arya-Dāsa relations influenced the meaning of the word Dāsa also. Many Dāsas after being conquered, were enslaved by the Aryans. As a result, the word Dāsa, which originally meant 'enemy' in the *Ṛigveda*, was used in the sense of 'slave' and 'servant'. Also we have frequent references to the Dāsas being given as gifts to the Vedic Ṛisis.[28] Such Dāsas and Dasīs served as servants in Aryan household. The new meanings of the word Dāsa carrying the sense of slavery and service were quite popular during the later Vedic period. It is probably this sense of service that the suffix 'Dāsa' in the compounds Divodāsa and Sudāsa carries. Oldenberg rightly interprets the word Divodāsa as the 'servant of the heaven'. Likewise, the word Sudāsa may be interpreted as 'sincere servant' (probably of the gods), and Mahīdāsa of the later Vedic texts[29] as the 'servant of the earth'.

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OBSERVATIONS ON BUDDHA AND ṚISHABHANĀTHA AS AVATĀRAS OF VISHṆU

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal*

It has been said that whenever there is decay of righteousness (*dharma*) and increase in unrighteousness (*adharma*) then for the sake of protection of good people and destruction of wicked people the lord incarnates himself.[1] The incarnation (*avatāra*) could be in the form of man, (e.g. Rāma, Krishṇa etc.) or animal (e.g. *matsya*, *kūrma*, and *varāha*) or man-animal combination (*nṛisiṁha*).

The incorporation of Buddha as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu was obviously done by the Vaishṇavas with a view to effecting reconciliation and compromise between Vaishṇavism and Buddhism, to their own advantage. Since Buddha had exerted immense influence on large number of people, and Buddhism had a sizable following, the status that Buddha could be accorded in Vaishṇavism could only be that of an *avatāra*. According to Buddhist belief, Buddha was born as a man or an animal in his previous lives. In each life, as a Bodhisattva he did good to others and earned merit. The Buddhist concept of Bodhisattva is considerably different from the *avatāra* concept of Vaishṇavism; nevertheless the fact that in each life he did works for the welfare of the beings even at the risk of his life, it could have been of some help in making the Buddha being accepted as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, since the *avatāra* takes great pains to protect good people.

Vaishṇavism was a brahmanical religion, and Buddha who had not accepted the authority of the Vedas, was opposed to the sacrifices and also, to some extent, to social and religious distinctions based on the *varṇa* system. There would have been some hesitation in accepting him as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, and in fact, some Purāṇas do not mention him in their list of *avatāras*, and even the Purāṇas, which mention him as an *avatāra* construed that he preached anti-Vedic tenets to the *asuras* with the view that they may follow them and get destroyed.[2] Use of such a strategem has not been uncommon in myths. The *Harivaṁśa* for example, states that once Indra had been dethroned by demon Rāji's son, and Brahman restored him to the throne by deluding the demons, preaching atheism to them.[3]

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The *Agni Purāṇa*[4] mentions Buddha's iconographic features as of quiet posture and fair complexion, and the *Varāha Purāṇa* states that one desirous of handsome form should worship him.[5] Perhaps in prescribing so the authors of the Purāṇas were inspired by the beautiful icons of Buddha, particularly of the Gupta period, of which the finest examples come from Mathura and Sarnath.

Regarding the Buddha *avatāra*, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[6] says that on the request for protection by gods who were defeated by the *asuras* headed by Hrada, Vishṇu emitted out of his person a deluding form (*Māyā-moha*) to lead the *daityas* astray from the path of the Vedas and Vedic rituals and sacrifices, and be slain. He preached such ideas to the *daityas* performing austerities on the banks of the Narmada river. The *daityas*, thus deluded, were defeated by the gods. It is interesting that verse 17 of chapter III of this Purāṇa begins with the discussion on one who is called *Nagna* (naked), and till we come to its verse 19, the impression one gets is that the description pertains to a Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* who, in Digambara tradition, is shown naked, rather than Buddha, who never gave up wearing clothes. It is only verse 19 onwards that it becomes clear that Buddha, and not a *Tīrthaṅkara*, is meant.

The *Bhāgvata Purāṇa*[7] mentions the name of Buddha's father as Ajana,[8] and as one belonging to Kīkaṭa. The Agni *Purāṇa* mentions the name of his father as Jina[9] which is an appellation of both Buddha and a Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara*. However, the historicity of Buddha is well established. The name of his father was Suddhodana, of his mother, Māyādevī, and of his tribe, Śākya, and his father was a follower of Brahmanical religion which religion was practised by people in his territory. The capital of the Śākyas was Kapilavastu which, in all probability, is identical with the present day Piprahwa in Siddhartha Nagar District,[10] and not in Kīkaṭa, which according to a commentator, stands for Gaya region; the latter infact, is the region where (at Bodh Gaya) he attained Enlightenment.[11] Further, Buddha does not seem to have preached in the regions around the Narmada, his itinerary, in all probability, being confined only to eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The mention of his being created by Vishṇu's emitting a deluding form,[12] is an example of turning an historical figure into a mythical one. The name Hrada, mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* as that of an *asura*, is not known in the history of the sixth-fifth century B.C.

Quite interesting is the information regarding Buddha as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu as mentioned in *Skanda Purāṇa*.[13] It says that one Ripuñjaya alias Divodāsa, on Brahmā's request, accepted kingship on the condition

that all gods should forsake the Earth. As a corollary, Śiva had to leave Kashi which was so dear to him. Vishṇu as Buddha formed his abode a little away from Kashi and imparted delusive instruction. It contained such ideas as there is no creator, it is foolish to perform sacrifices, and caste distinction is vain. The *Purāṇa* adds that as a result of the dissemination of these doctrines, Divodāsa became dispirited, and told Vishṇu, disguised as a Brāhmaṇa, of his desire to resign kingship. Vishṇu told him that his making Śiva forsake Kashi was an unwise step, and that he should install and worship Śiva image. The king did as advised, and God Śiva pleased with this took him to his abode, Kailāsa. The myth in the *Skanda Purāṇa* has at least some basis in history. It states that Buddha preached near Kashi (and not in the region around the river Narmada, as mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, above), and from historical evidence Buddha is known to have delivered his First Sermon at the Deer park (*mṛigadāva*) at Sarnath (Ṛishipattan), near Varanasi.

The statement that Śiva was not inclined to leave Kashi as he loved to stay there, may be taken as indicative of the popularity of the Śaiva cult in that city, which is so well attested to by other sources; while the statement that Śiva had to leave Kashi indicates some set-back, though temporary, to his cult there, because of the spread of Buddhism. The reference to the reinstallation of Śiva image and its worship by the king indicates that Śaivism again became popular in Kashi. It is too well known that Śaivism has remained the most prominent cult for centuries till present times in that city.

The *Śiva Purāṇa* has a completely different story regarding Buddha *avatāra* of Vishṇu.[14] It says that *Ṛishi* Gautama disgusted with the conduct of some of the Brāhmaṇas, who troubled him much, gave up his traditional Brāhamanical religion and founded and preached a new religion which eclipsed Brāhmanism for a time. This agrees with the historical facts known about Buddha who, showing disagreement with ritual-ridden and priest-dominated Brāhmanism which he would have inherited from his parents, preached a new and different religion. The *Purāṇa* mentions the name of Gautama's wife as Ahalyā. History tells us that the wife of Buddha was Yaśodharā (also called Gopā) and not Ahalyā. One *Ṛishi* Gautama and his wife Ahalyā are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as contemporary of Rāma, who should be placed some centuries earlier than Buddha (sixth-fifth century B.C.) It would seem that the identification of Gautama Buddha with Gautama *ṛishi* in the Śiva *Purāṇa* has been inspired by the similarity of their names and also by the fact that both men were of great learning. In passing, it may also be stated

that the *Sātvat Saṁhitā* includes, besides Buddha, the Mahāyāna deities Vāgiśvara and Lokanātha in the list of the *avatāras*, which is indicative of the attempt of the Vaishṇavas to incorporate more Buddhist deities within its fold by giving them the high status of *avatāra*.

Like Buddha, Ṛishabhanātha the first Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara*, is included in some Purāṇas in the list of the *avatāras* of Vishṇu.[15] He is said to have been a son of king Nābhi.[16] Ṛishabhanātha means 'Lord of Ṛishabha (bull)'[17] which expression suits well for Śiva whose mount is the bull. Bull is also the *lāñchhana* of *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛishabhnātha, and this animal was dreamt by his mother in one of her fourteen (according to the Śvetāmbara tradition) or sixteen (according to Digambara tradition) dreams. His Yaksha is Gomukha (bull-faced) who holds a *triśūla*, which is Śiva's weapon *par excellence*, and has bull for his mount. The place of *Kevala jñāna* of *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛishabhanātha is stated as Kailāsa which is known as the abode of Śiva. From these strong Śaiva affinities of *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛishabhanātha, one would have expected him to be associated with Śaivism; this, however, is not the case; instead, he is considered as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu. Interestingly, the *Tīrthaṅkara* has also some affiliation with Brahmā. He is said to have been fifth in descent from Brahmā, and like him he has been referred to as Adinātha (First Lord). He is referred to as golden in colour, and Brahmā is called Hiraṇyagarbha. As regards Vaishṇava affiliations, his Śāsanadevatā is Chakreśvarī who is female counterpart of Chakreśvara (Lord of chakra, *i.e*, Vishṇu). This relatively meagre affiliation of Ṛishabhanātha to Vaishṇavism is compensated in the Purāṇa by mentioning that prior to his founding Jaina religion, he had Vaishṇava leanings. The *Bhāgvata Purāṇa*[18] refers to him as god and identifies him with Vāsudeva, the supreme deity of Bhāgavata cult. Even the affiliation with Śiva and Brahmā, referred to above, could not have been a hurdle in his being accepted as an incarnation of Vishṇu, as there were attempts at rapproachment between cults of Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, which is so well reflected in the syncretic icon of Trimūrti, showing a combination of faces of Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā.

Like Buddhism, Jainism does not accept the authority of the Vedas, is opposed to Vedic rituals and sacrifices and does not accept superiority of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus Jaina ideology was considerably different from, and in some ways even opposed to, certain Brahmanical tenets. The Vaishṇavas realized that since Ṛishabhanātha is the first Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara*, it is he who should be given the credit for propounding the tenets of Jainism. But then he was to be fitted in the *avatāra* scheme of the Vaishṇavas. It was, therefore,

construed that the form of the (Jaina) religion that has come down to us is not that which Ṛishabhanātha had preached, but just the opposite of it. *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[19] says that in the Kaliyuga when *adharma* will increase Arhat, King of Koṅka, Veṅka and Kūṭaka, though he would listen to the noble teachings of Ṛishabhanātha, yet due to the influence of previous sins leaving the right form of religion preached by him will preach false religion, as a result of which many people would give up the right behaviour; they would not take their bath, would do *keśa lunchana*, and would speak ill of the Vedas, the Brāhamaṇas and the Yajñapurusha (*i.e.*,Vishṇu). Thus the kind of teachings leading to delusion which the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* ascribes in the context of Buddhism to Buddha, are ascribed not to Ṛishabhanātha, but to king Arhat, which in Jainism means *Tīrthaṅkara*, is also significant in this context.

What could be the reason of the Vaishṇavas having different attitude towards Buddha and Ṛishabhanātha. It appears that the Jainas were, in comparison to Buddhists fewer in number and did not pose as great a challenge to Brāhmanism as Buddhism did. Later Buddhism created a pantheon in which Buddhist deities are shown trampling over important Brāhmanical deities --Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, and others. The Jainas did relegate some Brahmanical deities to lower position than the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, but they did not denigrate them to the extent the Buddhists did. Moreover, by the time of the composition of the Purāṇas, the Jainas had gradually come to adopt some of the Brāhmanical practices and hence the Vaishṇavas did not attribute the tenets of Jainism to *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛishabhanātha.

Incidentally, the Jaina tradition considers Krishṇa and Balarama, the two Vṛishṇi heroes, as cousins of Neminātha, the twenty second *Tīrthaṅkara*.[20] Thus while the first *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛishabhanātha was accepted as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and came to be identified with Vāsudeva (*i.e.* Krishṇa), the twenty-second *Tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha is referred to as a first cousin of Krishna in Jaina tradition. In associating Jainism with Vaishṇavism, unconsciously, the first *Tīrthaṅkara* and the twenty second *Tīrthaṅkara* are taken as cousins whereas, accepting their historicity they would have been separated by a span of several centuries.[21]

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20. E.g. in *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasenāchārya (eighth century) and *Neminā thamahākāvyam* of Kīrti Sūri, a fifteenth century text.
21. The historicity of twenty-fourth *Tīrthaṅkara*, Mahāvīra is beyond doubt and that of the twenty third Pārśvanātha is accepted by majority of the scholars, and the latter is placed about 250 years earlier than the former who lived in the sixth century B.C.

FORMATION AND GROWTH OF ART-CENTRES IN VARANASI-SARNATH REGION: A STUDY OF PAST AND PRESENT SCULPTURING WORKSHOPS

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After the discovery of ancient quarries at Chunar hills, I was engaged in collecting data pertaining to various aspects of ancient stone chiselling processes. In the course of this study I was confronted with two sets of inquiries in particular. One, how are the art-centres formed and grow? The other, what was the nature of ancient stone sculpturing centres or workshops? Ethno-archaeological study of Varanasi-Sarnath region helped finding satisfactory answers to these inquiries, which forms subject matter of this paper.

Ethno-archaeology is one such branch, which on account of comparable living practices provides grounds for the historical reconstructions. There has been a long debate regarding the reliability of ethnological models for the interpretation of history. But without going into the details of the theories and siding with one or the other views, I would like to demonstrate through my own observations and findings the utility of this branch. It has been our experience in the field and also at the desk, that when some deep historical inquiries crop-up, ethnographic instances help not only in the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological findings, but also at times provide insight for meaningful field investigations. I have, therefore, selected one theme from the series of studies made by us. The intensive ethnographic surveys conducted in the later half of the nineties included stone sculpture carving centre of Varanasi (1993). The results of these studies were very encouraging and form a good case study for successful application of ethno-archaeological model for understanding the origin and growth of art and craft centres of ancient times. Besides providing base for the interpretation of modelling processes, these studies could also be utilized for discovering such archaeological contexts, which are very significant. But they escape our attention. Discovery of Kotwa, an ancient sculpturing workshop was the result of the application of model of present day Lallapura. The chiselling *debris* unearthed at Kotwa, corresponds by and large with the ancient stone carving activities in Varanasi-Sarnath region.

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Formation and growth of centres

Formulation of main styles such as, Kushāṇa, Gupta, Pāla etc., which feature in the ancient Indian sculptures can be interpreted in terms of the adaptability of the religious and aesthetic norms of the contemporary society. It is well known that the religious texts have laid down iconographic conventions for carving divinities (Gopinath Rao, T.A. 1968: 3-3; Banerjea, J.N. 1941:417-421). Besides, descriptions in ancient Indian literature are also available regarding the aesthetic norms for the creation of these figurative forms (Saraswati, S.K. 1957: 120-131; Biswas, T.K. 1985: 23-27). It may, therefore, be held that the conventions laid down by the society have quite a major role to play in the formulation of a style. Once formed, styles spread in a considerably large area, and may continue for a few decades or centuries, as was the case with the Gupta style. Artisans by and large accept the contemporary norms and learn to execute the craftsmanship in very traditional manner through inheritance. In spite of the fact that the traditional conventions and norms have strong hold on the image making, chiselling minor details varies from one region to the other. These variations evidence prevalence of sub-styles within a major style of a period, and could be interpreted in terms of regional manifestations due to the functioning of local art workshops in an extended area (Asher, F.M. 1980:7-8). Sarnath was one such regional sculpture producing centre of Gupta style. Even a cursory glance over the Buddha images of the Gupta period at Sarnath may reveal the striking uniformity in the depiction of the physiognomy of the icons. Diversities on account of individual aptitude of the sculptors are not so marked in a large number of images, as one would expect. Though it has been suggested at times that, "Gupta art belongs with unusual consistency to the Greater Sanskritic tradition" (Williams, J.G. 1983:4), I have reasons to believe that the collection under consideration was the creation of a very select few sculptors who belonged to one line of successive generations. In view to ascertain the sculpture making processes and nature of icon carving workshop, an intensive survey of modern stone image making workshops/centres of Varanasi-Sarnath region were conducted. In Varanasi today two types of workshops are found. One, where portraits of important persons are prepared, the other sculpts images of gods and goddesses. It is the latter category, which is relevant to the present study, as these workshops are marked by traditional carvings.

Our survey of these stone carving centres revealed that these workshops are extremely restricted in number. Although, Varanasi is a densely populated religious city, yet only one or two centres are at work. The one at Lallapura mohalla is the most promising, which caters to a major part of the icon

demand of the city. Besides Varanasi, adjoining settlements such as Mirzapur, Chunar, Ghazipur and Jaunpur also import images from this centre (Jayaswal, V. & I. Singh. 1993-94). Named Jaipur Murty Kendra, this centre is located in the densely populated area with good metal road. The main produce of Lallapura centre is icon of divinities, which are carved out of white or grey marbles. But, sandstone and similar soft stones are also chiselled at times at the demand of the customers. The choice of medium is governed by the taste of the customers, while the images are made in Jaipur style, a modern tradition of sculpturing which has in recent years gained popularity in north India. It may be mentioned that most of the deities, which are installed in the newly built Hindu temples are the products of Jaipur traditon. It is noteworthy that the name of this workshop, - Jaipur Murty Kendra, is to claim direct links with the reputed modern style of sculpturing. We were informed that at the initial stage, a couple of sculptors were actually brought to Varanasi from Jaipur, who initiated Jaipur tradition of icon making at this centre and perhaps in Varanasi. But the team of subordinate stone cutters were the local persons.

The workshop under study is located in an enclosed open space, where raw material and carved sculptures are accumulated in heaps at the periphery, while carving activities are carried out in the empty central space. Owned by Ramasevak Prasad, who himself supervises the entire chiselling operation, a team of 25 to 30 craftsmen work here from dawn to dusk. Each craftsman specializes in one type of work, - primary dressing, chiselling of the physiognomic details, rubbing the surface, and colouring the images etc. Three to five persons are engaged in each category of work. But there is only one master craftsman, Bachau, who is actually responsible for the composition and final finishing of the sculptures. It is his artistic amplitude and skill, which is mirrored through the entire produce of this centre.

Our visit to Lallapura workshop revealed that the sculpturing processes are invariably initiated by the chief sculptor, Bachau, who first draws the composition over the select block or rock. The entire composition is sketched along a vertical line, which demarcates the centre of the composition, from top to bottom. The figurative form in this case is, thereafter, drawn in accordance with the traditional way of relative measurement units, which was also prevalent in ancient times. Chiselling is done in two to three stages. For example, the first stage of chiselling is confined to the primary dressing of the select lithic block. Using *takani* and *tipani* (local names for broad edged chisels) the stone cutter, not the master sculptor, knocks out the extra mass of stone from the drawn composition. The primary dressing is carried out by a select

few craftsmen. In the second stage, general shape of the various parts of the composition is brought out. Rough forms of hand, head, crown, ornament, etc., are carved out during this process. The same stone-cutters who execute primary dressing also perform the task of secondary chiselling. But, some times chief sculptor executes this stage of carving. In the third stage, when details of human anatomy, hair-dress, ornaments, dress etc. are carved, the task is performed invariably by the chief craftsman. As it is this stage which is responsible for denoting the stylistic features to the sculpted figures. The final stage of finishing of an image includes rubbing and occasionally also colouring. Rubbing operations are carried out in view to smooth surface of the images, which is performed by young boys, while some of the older boys may be seen painting the images.

It was noticed by us that carving of a medium sized (2-3' high) elaborate figurative form, on a soft variety of marble stone, takes two to three months and a large image of (about 6' high) of the similar type five to six months production time. In this total span of production time the labour input by the master sculptor is approximately half of the total duration. It may, therefore, be recorded that on an average, one chief sculptor produces 10 to 12 medium sized or 3 to 4 large sized images per year. If this statistics is worked out further, 400 to 500 small and 100 to 150 large icons are carved by the master craftsman in entire period of his workmanship. In general, craftsmanship period of an individual had an average of 40 years (lying approximately between 20 and 60 years of the age).

The preceding ethnographic account has close correspondence with the ancient sculpture collection of Sarnath. It is well known that though some sculptures have been found from Varanasi-Sarnath region, Sarnath had not attained the status of sculpturing centre during pre-Kushāṇa times. It has also been established that Mathura was the centre of repute during Kushāṇa times, which was also catering to the need of Sarnath. But copies of Kushāṇa images at Sarnath indicate that the sculpturing process, which was initiated at this time, was a borrowed stylistic tradition, which laid foundation for a strong local carving style in the succeeding period. This situation is well demonstrated by the formation of Lallapura carving centre, which originated as an off-shoot of the reputed Jaipur style of the modern times. Its high yield of icon on account of the local demand is the main factor for its long survival.

On account of the ethnographic model it may logically be held that, there also appears to be import of stone carvers at Sarnath from Mathura.

For, it has been demonstrated through the process of formation of Lallapura centre that such a mechanism facilitates making up of an art centre faster and smoother than the import of core models only. There is, however, one point of divergence between the Mathura-Sarnath of ancient and Jaipur-Lallapura modern sculpturing tradition. While Sarnath could soon develop its own personality of lithic carving, Lallapura is simply reproducing icons of Jaipur tradition in a very orthodox and non-innovative manner. The main reason for this variation appears to be the high artistic amplitude and imagination of the earlier sculptors of Sarnath, and the lack of these qualities in the craftsmen of Lallapura.

It has been established on the basis of the historical evidence that image production at Sarnath in a major way had started around the third quarter of the fifth century (Williams, J.G. 1983: 76; Huntington, S.L. 1985; 201). Though the carving continued during the post-Gupta period, yet the prevalence of classical Gupta idiom appears to have continued by the end of the sixth century. A total span of about 150-200 years may thus be calculated as the production time for the collection characterized by Gupta style at Sarnath. The statistics, which was noted at Lallapura indicates that the production rate of the images by an individual sculptor with an average of 40 years working-period is countable to 400-500 small, and 100-150 large images. If this data is applied to Gupta image production at Sarnath, it can be argued that a single workshop in one and a half centuries to two centuries was able to supply 500-600 large or about 1000-1500 small sized images. A total number of about 200 and 250 large and about 1000 medium/small sized images could easily be carved at one workshop. Four to five generations of stone sculptors with his team of craftsmen in this hypothesis would be at work. This quantitative count has direct bearing on the available images of Sarnath style. For, it has been recorded that about 400 Buddha images of Gupta period are stored presently at Sarnath (Williams, J.G. 1983:79; Sharma, M.1988; Sahni, D.1914). If the loss incurred from the scavenging operations at Sarnath in the later times for acquiring building material (Sahni, D.1914:9 & 12) and time to time export of icons from this centre, is taken into account (Asher, F.M.1980: 31-32), then the quantity of sculptures produced at Sarnath during the Gupta period would not be far from the above estimation. A model for a single workshop with one chief sculptor would, therefore, be a logical deduction for the production of Buddha images during the Gupta period at Sarnath. Through this hypothesis it is also possible to explain elements of uniformity in the ancient images. Further, in this process handing

over of carving traditions from one to the other generations without infusing considerable elements of diversities, can also be assumed. It may be mentioned that, in normal circumstances, it will take two to three generations for noticeable qualitative variations. Such minor differences have already been observed in the case of compositions of early and late Gupta icons of Sarnath (Williams, J.G.1983).

Identification of ancient sculpturing workshop

The clues obtained from the ethnographic instances about the nature and location of sculpturing workshops governed our efforts to locate ancient chiselling centres in Varanasi-Sarnath region. It was noted for instance that, the primary requirement for these workshops was the constant supply of the raw material. For this reason, the modern carving centres are located at such places, which are well connected by metal roads. The present day transportation of heavy blocks of stones to these workshops is through automobiles. It was further noted that these workshops are very modest in nature - a wide-open area is occupied, which may or may not have an enclosure wall. Small temporary shed or sheds or large trees are often used for storing images and work spots, as these provide protection from the sun and rain. On one side of this select space are piled the blocks of stones to be used. Half-finished and finished carvings may also be found in clusters in the remaining space. Various carving operations are executed by craftsmen in this very area. Most promising feature of these workshops is accumulation of the stone chiselling refuge. Even a little dressing of stone pieces produces large amount of waste products or chips. On the basis of these observations, it was surmised that the ancient sculpturing workshops of Sarnath and Varanasi carvings were also independent entities, and were of very modest nature. Their location on the lithic transportation route, which was in ancient times the navigational channel connecting Ganga with Sarnath was, thus a logical presumption.

Our field investigations indicated that the religious establishment of Sarnath was completely devoid of chiselling *debris*. The extensive use of carved sandstone blocks in the monuments at Sarnath would have been produced very large quantities of carving refuge, which is conspicuously absent. For, the entire surrounding area of this ancient settlement is marked by flat and low contour. The only raised ground is the one, which has monuments and the extension of the same mound to the north and north-east. In spite of intensive survey of the site, no evidence of local carving of stone could be found in and around Sarnath. Nor did we find any reference to the recovery

of chiselling *debris* in the reports of the earlier investigations at Sarnath (Cunningham A. 1972). It was thus, apparent that the sculpture making locales were located away from this religious establishment.

An ancient channel, which was connecting the river Ganga to Sarnath was traced during our field survey (Jayaswal,V.1998). This dried-up rivulet, Rajapur-nala, was demarcated as the navigational route for the transportation of large blocks of sandstone from Chunar hills to Varanasi-Sarnath region. Kotwa is one such small ancient settlement, which was located on the left bank of this channel. Excavations at Kotwa revealed four floors, on and around which rested huge accumulation of stone debris, indicating large scale chiselling of sandstone. The rural bias with predominance of chiselling refuge was distinct at this site. Associated with these were pot-sherds and broken pieces of carvings. On account of the typology of the pots and style and subject of the carvings, a date bracket between *circa* first/second century B.C. and eleventh/twelfth century A.D., could be ascertained for the archaeological horizons exposed at this site. Location of Kotwa was such that it was not only receiving the desired quantities of blocks of sandstone from the quarries, but due to its proximity to ancient city of Varanasi and the religious establishment at Sarnath, it could easily feed finished products to both of these ancient settlements.

The archaeological horizons at Kotwa, correspond by and large with the history of stone sculptural art of Varanasi-Sarnath region. The earliest stone carvings were of Mauryan period, which was associated with the remains at Sarnath (Sahni,D.1914: 28-31). Though made of pink dotted with iron pellets of Chunar sandstone, its chiselling as mark of local carving tradition cannot be established. Moreover, Mauryan stone sculptures have not been reported from any other part of Varanasi-Sarnath region. It is, therefore, significant to note that pre-Kushāṇa level at Kotwa is conspicuous by its absence. Though the possibility for discovering such a flaking-spot cannot be ruled out, its chances to me appear meagre. For, there is evidence to believe that stone carving in this region was not practised as local craft during Mauryan times. And the specimens such as the Loin capital, the part of the wheel and railing etc., were very specialized modelling under royal patronage, and do not represent local carving tradition. Acceptance of the hypothesis that Varanasi was not a centre of stone carving in pre-Śunga times is also supported by our-field investigations.

The next group of carvings from Varanasi-Sarnath region is of Śunga style. These examples too, are made from Chunar sandstone. The human

forms and the railing of this category have been claimed to be carved at Varanasi (Sahni, D.1914:3). Besides, there were also a few sculptures such as the Yaksha figures from Rajghat (Krishna, A.1982) and Akhta (Lin-Bodien C.G.1981), which have been dated to second and first centuries B.C. If the dates are accepted and also the medium of these icons - pink colour sandstone of Chunar are taken into account, then Śunga period may be taken as the period when stone sculpturing craft was initiated at the local level in this region. This was also the general trend of stone carving in the Ganga plains. The techno-typology of the ceramic remains of Period I at Kotwa confirms this presumption, as a date bracket of circa second/first century B.C. to first/second century A.D. was ascertained. But the nature of this workshop at the initial stage is quite indistinct. And the brick paving at the carving spot, which is represented by Floor 1, perhaps may be assigned to the Kushāṇa times. As was mentioned earlier, the ethnographic model suggests that special efforts might have been made to develop stone carving centre/centres in view to cater to the need of Sarnath. A well prepared floor for chiselling operations at Kotwa may have been part of it. For, this feature was not followed later when mass production of image making started at the site. The flaking *debris* of Period I at Kotwa tallies with large sized images of Kushāṇa times both in texture and colour. Also, a few fragments of floral designs recovered from this horizon, had stylistic similarities with Kushāṇa carving of Sarnath Museum.

As was discussed earlier, Gupta period in Varanasi-Sarnath region is marked by the growth of a flourishing and reputed icon carving tradition. Not only were the monuments at Sarnath adorned by a number of master piece carvings, but also classically made icons were installed in the entire city of ancient Varanasi (Krishna, A. 1982; Biswas, T.K & B. Jha. 1995). The evidence excavated at Kotwa suggests that it was one such old centre, which became more active and perhaps enlarged during the Gupta period. The carving *debris* of buff sandstone was not only very thick, but was also wide spread at the site. Another site, Rajapur, which is located very near Kotwa, appears to be an extension of Kotwa icon making workshop. Late Gupta sculpture refuge was noted at this site during exploration. This locality could not be excavated, as the entire mound was under occupation. Kotwa appears to have continued as one of the active and perhaps reputed sculpturing workshops during post-Gupta times also. The later two floors indicate succession of carving activities in the form of *debris* and broken images. Image carving at this site was carried on till around twelfth century. In the post-Gupta period, Sarnath was adorned with profuse architectural carved pieces and

icons of light buff and grey colours. To meet increased demand of various categories of stone sculptures, there was not only a mushroom growth of new centres, but some of these might also have specialized in particular category of carvings. Asapur was a site excavated by us where a number of architectural parts were carved at around eighth century A.D. (Jayaswal, V.1998).

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INDUS CIVILIZATION VERSUS MAHAGARA NEOLITHIC CULTURE : A NOTE ON ACCULTURATION

P. C. Pant*

Recent investigations into the archaeology of Middle Ganga plains have brought to light not only a number of cultures not known earlier, but have also yielded evidence which may have a lasting impact on the history of early north India. If interpreted in historical perspective, these evidence may alter many views prevalent in history.

One of the cultures brought to light by the archaeologists is a neolithic complex which initially flourished on the undulating plains lying north of and close to the Kaimur range of the Vindhyan formations. The credit for the discovery of this culture goes to late G. R. Sharma, of the Allahabad University, who excavated a number of sites in the southern part of Allahabad district and the adjoining Mirzapur district along the valleys of the Belan and the Adwa rivers (Sharma *et al.*, 1980). The important sites of the incipient farmers are Mahagara, Koldihwa and Panchoh, all located in the Belan valley, and Indari in the Adwa valley. Although not with any amount of certainty, it may perhaps be held that the sites of this region represent an early phase of the neolithic complex. Subsequently, a number of sites of this culture was explored by B. P. Singh of the Banaras Hindu University around Sasaram town of the Rohtas district, Bihar. He also excavated one of the sites named Senuwar (Singh, 1990). The early phase of the neolithic complex, comparable to the one found in the Belan - Adwa valleys was found represented at Senuwar also. The sites of Raja Nala-Ka-Tila in Sonbhadra district and Malhar in Chandauli district, excavated by the U.P. Archaeology Department, may also be mentioned in this connection, since they seem to have yeilded some evidence for neolithism (Tewari *et al.*, 1997 and 1998; Tewari *et al.*, 2000). The material remains unearthed at Kunjhun II and Kunjhun River Face located in the Son Valley are also similar to those of Mahagara (Clark and Williams, 1986, pp.19-41). The evidence for the culture has also been excavated from some northerly sites like Taradih, Chirand, Chechar-Kutubpur, Maner, etc. in Bihar (Kumar, 1998). It appears that at a later stage, when the culture developed a full-fledged agricultural economy, it spread northwards

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in the Gangetic alluvial plains and all these sites have preserved evidence for only the late phase. Although an absolute date of this culture complex may be a matter of debate, the evidence available so far appears to suggest a time bracket of circa 2200 B.C.- 1600 B.C. for this culture (Kumar, 1998). However, the earlier limit of this time bracket may go back to about 4000 B.C. in the Son valley (Possehl & Rissman, 1992, p.474 and Fig. 7). Since a reliable evidence for this neolithic culture was found for the first time at Mahagara, it is only logical to name this culture after this site. Hence the name Mahagara Neolithic Culture.

The Indus civilization is known to all students of history and archaeology and hence no introduction is necessary about this culture. Recent investigations appear to suggest that the mature phase of this civilization might have begun in the first quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. and continued to flourish upto the beginning of 2nd millennium B.C. During this period the civilization had cultural contacts with several remote areas of west Asia and central Asia and also probably with other contemporary cultures of the Indian subcontinent "by a highly developed system of communication and trade" (Allchin and Allchin, 1985, p.183). The cultural dynamism of the Indus people was perhaps responsible for sustaining a large number of well-planned flourishing cities for so many centuries. The recent evidence unearthed at atleast one of the sites of the Mahagara culture namely Senuwar and at some sites of the Indus civilization appears to indicate that the two cultures had been in contact with each other. As a result of this contact, the process of acculturation startcd which brought about a lasting impact on the way of life of the people of the Mahagara culture complex. This brief note proposes to discuss this very aspect of the two cultures.

Empirical studies carried out by anthropologists have shown that 'intercultural influencing' or acculturation takes place when two cultures come into long first hand contact with each other. (Kroeber, 1967, p.425). The committee of American Anthropological Association which consisted of such eminent anthropologists as Redfield, Herskovitz and Linton held in 1935 that 'Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' (*Ibid*). A close look in the culture contents of the Indus civilization will convince any researcher that the makers of this culture were very mobile people who were in look out for any worthwhile material item in other cultures with a view to enriching their own cultural milieu.

It was perhaps this instinct of the Indus people which brought them in contact with the Mahagara Neolithic culture. It needs to be emphasised, however, that it must have been a long lasting first hand contact between the two, a prerequisite for a two way acculturation. As a result, it is supposed that both the contacting cultures borrowed culture patterns from each other. While the cultivation of barley, wheat, millet and pulses was introduced in the Mahagara Neolithic complex, the Indus people learnt the cultivation of rice from these people.

K.S.Saraswat of the Birbal Sahni Institute of Paleobotany undertook a meticulous study of the botanical remains excavated from the neolithic strata of Senuwar (Saraswat, Typed script). His study reveals that for about two centuries the Senuwarians were cultivating only rice. Thus, between circa 2200 - 2000 B.C. the economy of the people was essentially pastoral, hunting and gathering being other means of subsistence. The cultivation of rice might have contributed only marginally to the economy. All of a sudden around 2000 B.C. the Senuwarians also started cultivating first barley and after sometime wheat and then millet and pulses. What is most astonishing is the observation of Saraswat that the speies of barley, wheat, pulses, etc. grown by the inhabitants of Senuwar were exactly similar to those cultivated by the Indus civilization. The introduction of the cultivation of these cereals and pulses cannot be accidental. They could not have reached Senuwarians without first hand contact with the Indus people. It has been suggested that the echos of this very incident have been preserved in the well known Videgha Māthava legend of the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* (Pant, 1996). It is easy to surmise that this contact and subsequent acculturation must have been the result of the initiaive and efforts of the Indus valley people, who were the dominant participants in this process.

It is also not difficult to conclude that between the two, the Indus civilization was the dominant culture while the other one must have been recessive. Obviously, the latter could not have easily taken to the cultivation of barley, wheat etc., as primitive cultures usually resist new patterns in the initial stage. This may explain as to why the cultivation of all the cereals and pulses was not introduced simultaneously. Since a recessive culture characterized by pastoralism and incipient farming of only one cereal does not accept any new pattern easily, it is only logical to infer that the two cultures must have been in contact with each other for a fairly long time and the process of acculturation must have been gradual. It may be difficult to know its exact nature, but this much is certain that it resulted in total transformation of the way of life of the people of the Gangetic plains.

Recently, cultivated rice (*Oryza sativa*) has been reported from some of the Harappan sites of Punjab and Haryana. Some of the important ones are Kunal, Banawali, Balu andSanghol, where the culture has been dated to circa 2850-2000 B.C. (Rakesh Tewari *et al.*, 2000, p.91). The occurrence of cultivated rice in such an early date in the sites of Punjab & Haryana is indeed very significant. It is a matter of common knowledge that north-western India including Punjab & Haryana, so also the regions of West Asia and Central Asia with which the Indus civiliztion had trade/cultural contacts, are not known as rice-cultivating areas. The south Indian Neolithic complex with which the contact of the Indus people is uncertain, subsisted mainly on *ragi* millet and did not cultivate rice. South-eastern part of China had a long history of rice cultivation, but we have no evidence so far to suggest that the Indus civilization was even remotely in touch with the neolithic people of that region. Under the circumstances, it is only logical to think of middle Ganga plains as the source of rice for the Indus people. However, this suggestion may not stand scrutiny if one takes into account the long time interval of about 6 to 7 centuries between the known radio carbon dates of the Indus culture sites of Punjab & Haryana on the one hand and those of the Mahagara Neolithic culture on the other.

It may be recalled in this connection that late G. R. Sharma *et al.* relied on the hoary antiquity of rice cultivation in the Belan valley and held that the neolithic complex of the region flourished in 7th-5th millennium B.C. (Sharma *et al.*, 1980). Their conclusions were based on the three radio-carbon dates from Koldihwa I&II which are 5440±240 B.C., 4530±185 B.C. and 6570±210 B.C. (all uncalibrated). Subsequently, one of the co-excavators of Koldihwa and also one of the co-authors of the report J. N. Pal asserted that the neolithic complex of the region could not be assigned such an early date, as Koldihwa did not yield any evidence for the neolithic culture (Pal, 1986, p.45). The subsequent writers also simply set aside such an early date for this neolithic complex on the ground that it was not corroborated by the radio-carbon dates from other sites yielding more or less similar culture complex (Kumar, 1998). However, some new evidence from a few other sites and a logical review of earlier evidence may necessitate fresh evaluation of the question of beginning of rice cultivation in the region lying on the northern slopes of the Kaimur. The points which need to be considered are as follows :

1. The site of Chopani Maṇdo in the Belan valley has revealed the evidence for three cultures *viz.*

i Epi-Paleolithic

ii Mesolithic and

iii Advanced Mesolithic/Proto-Neolithic.

It may be recalled that the third culture was characterized by the occurrence of not only pottery, true microliths including triangles and trepezes, ramnants of huts in the form of reed impressed clay lumps, but also by grains of wild rice. The evidence of rice was found mostly in the form of husk stuck with pottery and clay-lumps. It may be emphasised, however, that no systematic effort was ever made at the site to salvage and examine in detail the botanical remains from there. In the absence of any such effort it is difficult to determine whether the inhabitants of this cultural phase also cultivated rice side by side exploiting its wild variety, as was done by the earliest neolithic settlers of Senuwar. This question becomes all the more pertinent in view of the recent findings that the mesolithic inhabitants of Damdama used both cultivated and wild rice (information kindly provided by K. S. Saraswat). Thus, Damdama is no more a mesolithic settlement, and can be assigned to an early neolithic phase.

2. The early dates of 7th-5th millennium B.C from Koldihwa were mainly rejected on the ground that no other site of the region has such an early date from the neolithic complex. Now, it can be said with some amount of certainty that the early dates of Koldihwa are no more in isolation. Not only we have 4th millennium B.C. radio matric determination for the Kunjhun Neolithic complex of the Son valley in the Vindhyas, which shares many characteristics with the Koldihwa-Mahagara Neolithic culture, but there is atleast one radio-carbon date of 4620±110 B.C. (calibrated date 5475-5262 B.C.) from Malhar, distt. Chandauli. It is significant to note that the sample from Malhar which gave such an early date also yielded evidence for cultivated rice.
3. In view of the fact that eastern India including the Middle Ganga plains, along with eastern China and South-east Asian countries have been historically the rice growing regions, and also the fact that now we have early radio-carbon dates for the cultivation of rice and the beginning of neolithism from as many as 3 sites namely Koldihwa, Kunjhun River Face and Malhar, the entire question necessitates reconsideration. It is also worthy of note that cultivation of any wild cereal initially does not bring about such morphological changes in it as to be classified by a paleobotanist as cultivated. It may take a very long time, may be even a century or more, when

a wild cereal may be changed to an extent of being termed as cultivated. This may imply that the actual cultivation of rice might have begun in the adjoining region of the Kaimur much earlier than the date suggested by paleo-botanical studies.

In view of the above, it appears adviseable to undertake detailed study of paleobotanical remains from some select sites of the region with a view to throwing light on the history of cultivation of rice in this region. Whatever little evidence we have at present, it points towards a strong possibility that rice cultivation began in the vicinity of the Kaimur in 6th-5th millennium B.C. and inhabitants of the region continued to subsist on it for several millennia. It may be hypothesized that when the Indus people came into contact with the people of the Mahagara Neolithic culture, they learnt the technique of growing rice. Thus, it was a two way acculturation in which both the contacting cultures borrowed patterns from each other. This hypothesis may not be full proof, but the proposed two way acculturation is undoubtedly a strong possibility.

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THE NEOLITHIC POTTERY OF NORTHERN ZONE IN INDIA

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India has been divided into several neolithic regions. Krishnaswami[1] worked out four neolithic provinces. A. central and western India ; B. south India; C. eastern India; and D. Kashmir. Later the neolithic culture has been identified into six geographical zones by Thapar,[2] viz., (i) Kashmir valley, (ii) Belan valley, (iii) northern Bihar, (iv) north-eastern India, (v) central-eastern India, and (vi) southern India. Recent investigations in the Saryupāra region of eastern Uttar Pradesh have justified to discern a new zone which has brought to light several neolithic settlements. Thus we may divide the neolithic India into seven regions. Our present study as indicated by the title of this paper, is confined to the neolithic pottery of northern India i.e., Kashmir valley.

In the Kashmir valley only three sites have been excavated. These are Burzahom (District Srinagar), Gufkral (District Pulwama) and Kanispur (District Baramulla). Burzahom was excavated earlier followed by Gufkral and latest in the chain is Kanishpur. The sites are delt here in the same order.

Burzahom[3] is situated about 24 km. north-north-east of Srinagar on the Yendrahom Karewa. The excavations here have revealed two phases of neolithic settlements. The first phase, Period I is characterized by pit-dwellings and the second phase, period II is distinguished by mud and mud-brick structures.

The pottery from period I is generally handmade by way of coiling and subsequently rubbing to flaten the surfaces. The clay contained husk and grass as tempering material which is responsible for coarse product. The base of some of the vessels bear mat-impressions. These indicate that the pots were coiled on the mat. Presumably a piece of mat was used as turn-table. The various wares recovered are grey, dull red, drab, brown, buff and burnished black. The shapes met in grey ware are bowl, vase and a stem. A few potsherds of wheel-made burnished red ware also occurred

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Period II evinced a degree of advancement in the living conditions of neolithic settlers. The pit-dwellings, by now, were filled up and plastered with mud, and washed with red ochre. Thus the settlement was overground.

The pottery of this period is enriched by the introduction of wheel thrown burnished black ware of medium fabric. A fine thin grey ware is also recorded. The shapes recovered are dishes (fig. 2: 2, 3 and 6), some of them with a stand (fig. 2:1), bowls (fig. 2:5, 8-11 and 13), jars (fig. 2:12, 16-21) stem with triangular cut (fig. 2:23), globular vase with foot base (fig. 2:15) and a broken elongated vase with long neck and receeding profile (fig. 2:27). A Jar with flaring mouth, featureless rim, high neck, globular profile and disc base is decorated by incised oblique notches around the lower part of the neck (fig. 3:1). Mat-impressions on the bases of the pots in fine grey ware are exclusive. A significant recovery is of a painted oval shaped vase of pre or early Harappan fabric from the early levels of this period.[4] It bears multiple horizontal grooves on the exterior and has a flat base. On the shoulder are incised multiple horizontal wavy lines, a bukranium and a rim band painted in black pigment (fig. 3:2). This vessel apparently is not a local product. It is understandably imported from a pre or early Harappan site possibly from Sarai Khola in Pakistan. This shows that the neolithic people of Period II at Burzahom were in contact with their pre or early Harappan neighbours. The neolithic culture has been dated to c.2000 B.C.

The other finds from the neolithic settlement comprise polished stone and bone tools. The frequency of the bone tools is more as compared to the preceding Period I. However, a few copper barbed arrow heads have also been found in the early levels of Period II.[5] These again indicate contact with the copper using pre or early Harappans in the region.

Saar[6] who has been associated with the excavations at Burzahom differs with the chronology worked out by Khazanchi. The former is of the opinion that the period I is aceramic. The pottery was introduced only in Period II.

Several C14 determinations are available from Burzahom. These are of course not calibrated. (1) TF 128 2375 ± 120 B.C. , (2) TF 123 2225 ± 115 B.C., (3) TF 127 2100 ± 115 B.C., (4) TF 14 2025 ± 110 B.C., (5) TF 13 1850 ± 125 B.C., (6) TF 15 1535 ± 110 B.C. and (7) TF 10 705 ± 105 B.C. Thus the aceramic phase may be placed prior to c. 2000 B.C. and the ceramic phase from c. 2000 to 1600 B.C.

Gufkral[7] (the name is derived from two words of the local dilect- *guf* meaning cave and *kral* meaning potter) is located on an extensive deposit of Upper Karewa, 41 km south-east of Srinagar, near Tral. The excavations here have brought to light a neolithic settlement which has three phases, identified as Period I A, I B and I C. The sub-period I A is aceramic hence beyond the scope of this exposition. Pottery is available in sub-periods I B and I C.

Sub-period I B has a deposit of about 40 cm. and the habitation shows continuity from the preceding Sub-period I A, but for the introduction of handmade pottery. The grey ware is preponderant, a few sherds of dull red ware in coarse fabric also occur. The shapes represented are bowls, basins, storage jars and one fragment of a stem of dish-on-stand in coarse dull red ware. The bases of some of the pots bear reed-impressions. The simple decoration noticed on the neck region is rendered by pinching the clay. Reed-impressions occur on the exterior surface of the vessels too. Examples having such impressions on both sides of the pot are also found (fig. 4). The pottery is ill-fired. The associated finds include one stone point, one broken ring stone and nineteen bone tools, mostly well polished points, two piercers-cum-scrapers shaped out of splinters and one spatula. An earliest C 14 date for this Sub-period is BS 359, 2030 B.C.

Sub-period I C presents the matured neolithic cultural phase here, which has a 70 - 80 cm. thick deposit. The ceramic industries include grey ware, burnished grey ware, rough thick dull red ware and burnished black ware. All these are handmade. The burnished black ware is also wheel thrown. A few sherds of gritty red ware are also found. All the shapes met in Sub-period I B continued in this phase with the introduction of high-necked jars and dish-on-stand, the stem of the same has triangular cut design. These two forms are made of burnished grey ware. Some of the pots have mat- and cord-impressions on their base. Some of the vessels in grey and dull red wares on the exterior have reed-impressions, possibly to roughen the surfaces. Decorations obtained by pinching the clay are executed on the neck portion. The vessels in dull red ware have groups of obliquely incised strokes rendered from one or two directions, appearing on the neck. The wheel thrown pots in burnished black ware carry knobbed design on the neck (fig. 5).

Other finds include stone and bone implements. A significant yield is a copper hair-pin, similar to the one reported from Chanhudaro. This Sub-period has two C14 dates, BS 371 and BS 360 from the upper levels

providing a date bracket ranging from 1620 to 1300 B.C.

Kanispur,[8] also known as Kanishpur or Kanispora, is located 7 km. east of Baramulla District headquarters on the Baramulla-Srinagar road and about 48 km. west of Srinagar on the left bank of the Jhelum. The excavations at the site brought to light a five-fold cultural sequence. Periods I and II have yielded neolithic remains. Period I is aceramic settlement, hence is not discussed. Period II is distinguished by the occurrence of pottery.

The habitational deposit of period II on an average ranges between 1.60 m to 2 m in different cuttings. The pottery recovered from these levels was mostly handmade, but wheel turned pottery though infrequent, marked its presence. 'Fine grey ware of medium to coarse fabric, coarse grey ware, red ware, dull red ware, black wares of both plain and burnished varieties' have been found. The clay was tempered with siliceous grit. Evidence of coil technique employed in pottery making has been noticed. Some of the pots have horizontal, vertical or slanting grooves on the exterior. It has been suggested that such vessels while in leather -hard condition were brushed with reeds. The disc base of some of the pots have mat-impressions of variegated patterns. This suggests that a piece of mat was possibly used as a turn-table for hand modelled pottery. The general shapes are bowls (fig. 6: 1-5), dish or/and dish-on-stand, the stem of which bears series of incised triangular notches, while the bases are decorated with vertical incised notches or herring-bone pattern (fig. 6: 6-10) and vases some of them with high neck and jars (fig. 7: 1-10). No painted pottery has been found. However, the decorations are not lacking. The handmade vases have a variety of pinched ornamental patterns in appliqué including vertical or oblique incised notches on the rim and neck. Some of the pots have similar decorations on the body.

Other finds associated with pottery are polished stone celts, bone points, copper objects including two pins, a fragment of a bangle, a nose or ear ring, a needle and a chisel. These copper objects have been recovered from the upper levels of the deposit. This suggests that the neolithic people at a later stage established contacts with the copper using community in not very far region. These were possibly the Harappans.

Discussion

From the foregoing exposition it is clear that the earliest neolithic settlements grew up in the Northern Zone at Gufkral and Kanishpur. If the observations of Saar are credited , Burzahom also comes in line with other two sites in Kashmir. A critical study of the excavated material from

Burzahom and its comparison with the evidence recorded at Gufkral and Kanispur, justifies to discern a pre-pottery phase at the former site . Be it so, the chronological position that emerges is as under:

Burzahom	**Gufkral**	**Kanispur**
Period I Aceramic	Period IA Aceramic	Period I Aceramic
Period II Ceramic	Period IB Ceramic	Period II Ceramic
	Period IC Ceramic	

Thus the relative chronology of all these three sites works out that Burzahom I , Gufkral IA and Kanispur I present the aceramic phase of the neolithic settlements. Burzahom II, Gufkral IB, IC and Kanispur II record the introduction of pottery. Some of the pottery forms from these sites are common viz., bowls (fig. 1: 1; fig. 5: 27, 28; fig. 1: 1, 6, 10, and 13 ; fig. 5: 20 -23; fig. 6: 5),dishes (fig. 2: 2, 6; fig. 4: 7, 8 and 11; fig. 6: 6), stem of dish-on-stand (fig. 2: 23; fig. 5: 6; fig. 6: 8). The triangular cut or deep incised design is shared both at Burzahom and Kanispur. Vases with flaring mouth and comparatively tall neck, globular body, disc base (fig. 2: 15, 17 - 20 and 27; fig. 3; fig. 4: 13 and 14; fig. 5: 11, 12; fig. 7: 9 - 11). Vessels with pinched or incised decoration on the rim or neck (fig. 1: 17, 18, 21 and 22; fig. 3; fig. 4: 17, 25 and 27; fig. 5: 5, 8, 9, 25, 26; fig. 7: 1 - 7). Some pottery from all these three sites show reed brushing on the exterior. Bases of some pots have mat-impressions which are noticed at all these sites (fig. 1: 6, 10, 13; fig. 4: 22, 23, 24; fig. 5: 20, 21; fig. 6: 4 and 5)

The recovery of a vase of the pre- or early Harappan origin at Burzahom, painted with a bukranium, from the early levels of the ceramic phase is significant.[9] Copper is known in the form of barbed arrowheads, a ring, bangle and a pin each occurring in the same levels. Gufkral has yielded a copper hair-pin which is like the one reported from Chanhudaro. Kanispur also has produced copper objects viz., hair-pins, a bangle, ring, needle and chisel each. If we correlate the pre- or early Harappan vase and the copper objects since they come from same levels, they should be of the same date. These copper objects do not appear to be locally manufactured as smithery was unknown to the Burzahomians in the neolithic period. Hence these are also imports. Similarly the hair-pin from Gufkral having affinity with the one from the Mature Harappan levels at Chanhudaro should be taken

to be of the same date. The copper objects from Kanispur present a variety. Some of them are of personal wear, like those from Burzahom, whereas, the needle and chisel point to improved stitching tool and the art of carpentry. These copper objects do not seem to be locally made but were imported from the advanced society who were none else than the Harappans.

Khazanchi and Dikshit[10] have dwelt on the problem of the Grey Ware Culture in northern Pakistan, Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab. They have on the basis of Stacul's[11] report of Period IV in the Swat valley found similarity in some of the grey ware pots such as 'deep bowls or cups with splayed out rims or pedestalled or hemispherical bowls with a ring base , globular vases, copper pins, bone points and crouched position of skeletons at Burzahom indicate some contact with Swat valley. Stacul has also suggested a culture-interaction between Swat valley, Kashmir valley and China on the basis of underground pit-dwellings, jade beads and burnished grey ware'.

Dikshit[12] has attempted to high light the cultural affinity between Burzahom and Chinese neolithic cultures. The northern Chinese region had microliths, brown pottery decorated with combed designs and bone tools. These neolithic people had contacts with the neolithic settlers of Yang-Shao. Pan Po located in southern Shenai had vestiges of early Yang-Shao culture. It is characterized by handmade red ware in general with some greyish black pottery. The clay used is gritty and coarse. The shapes are cooking vessels and storage jars. The decorations include incised and appliqué patterns besides cord- or basket- impressions. The paintings are rendered in black purple or red pigments. Animal figures appear in early phase whereas, geometric designs occur in the late phase. The C 14 dates for Pan Po neolithic culture range between 4115 ±110 B.C. and 3635 ± 105 B.C.

Singh[13] in his essay 'Neolithic Cultures of Northern and North-Western India has delt among other sites Mehragarh[14] and kili Ghul Mohammed,[15] both in Baluchistan. At these sites the aceramic neolithic cultures have been placed in the 6th millennium B.C. and 5th millennium B.C. respectively. Mehargarh IIA produced straw tempered shapeless fragile sherds. This assemblage is placed in the end of the 5th millennium B.C.and is comparable to Kili Gul Mohammed II which has yielded crude handmade basket-marked pottery. The main ceramic has 'red or yellowish-red surface and yellowish body and a coarse ware with sandy body.' This period has a date range from c.3500 to 3100 B.C. Mehargarh IIB is distinguished by the introduction of fine buff wheel-turned pottery. The shapes reported are wide mouthed bowls and medium sized globular pots. Some of the vessels bear polychrome

simple geometrical designs. This phase has been dated to the first-half of the 4th millennium B.C. and is comparable to kili Ghul Mohammad III. Here both handmade and wheel thrown pottery painted in black or red pigments depicting simple geometrical patterns has been found. Both these sites are on the eastern fringe of the fertile crescent.

Conclusion

Of all the three neolithic settlements in the Northern Zone, Burzahom with a 3 m thick deposit representing neolithic habitation, appears to be the earliest. This view is supported by the radio carbon dates. In the light of its pre- or early Harappan connection it may be placed in the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. Gufkral IB has not been dated, but Gufkral IC and Kanispur II copper objects indicate contacts with the Mature Harappans as pointed out above. However , the radio carbon dates from Gufkral IC provide a span of about three hundred years for this phase begining from c. 1620 to 1300 B.C. No C 14 date is available from Kanispur. Nevertheless, the excavator has placed the last phase of Kanispur II, Burzahom II and Gufkral IC in the same date bracket. In this date scheme Gufkral IB can be assigned a date between pre- or Early Harappan and Mature Harappan. That is to say some time between 2500 to 1700 B.C.

As elucidated above, a broad similarity in some of the pottery forms, bone tools, pit-dwelings and position of interment of the dead show culture-interaction of some sort with Swat valley neolithic people. Nonetheless , there is an apparent influence from various neolithic cultures from China. Yang-Shao decorated pottery, typical bone and stone tools and pit-dwellings do suggest the Kashmir neolithic culture was generally influenced by the Chinese neolithic life style. It seems that the neolithic settlements in Kashmir valley had two-way culture-interaction, one from the north-west and the other from the north-east.

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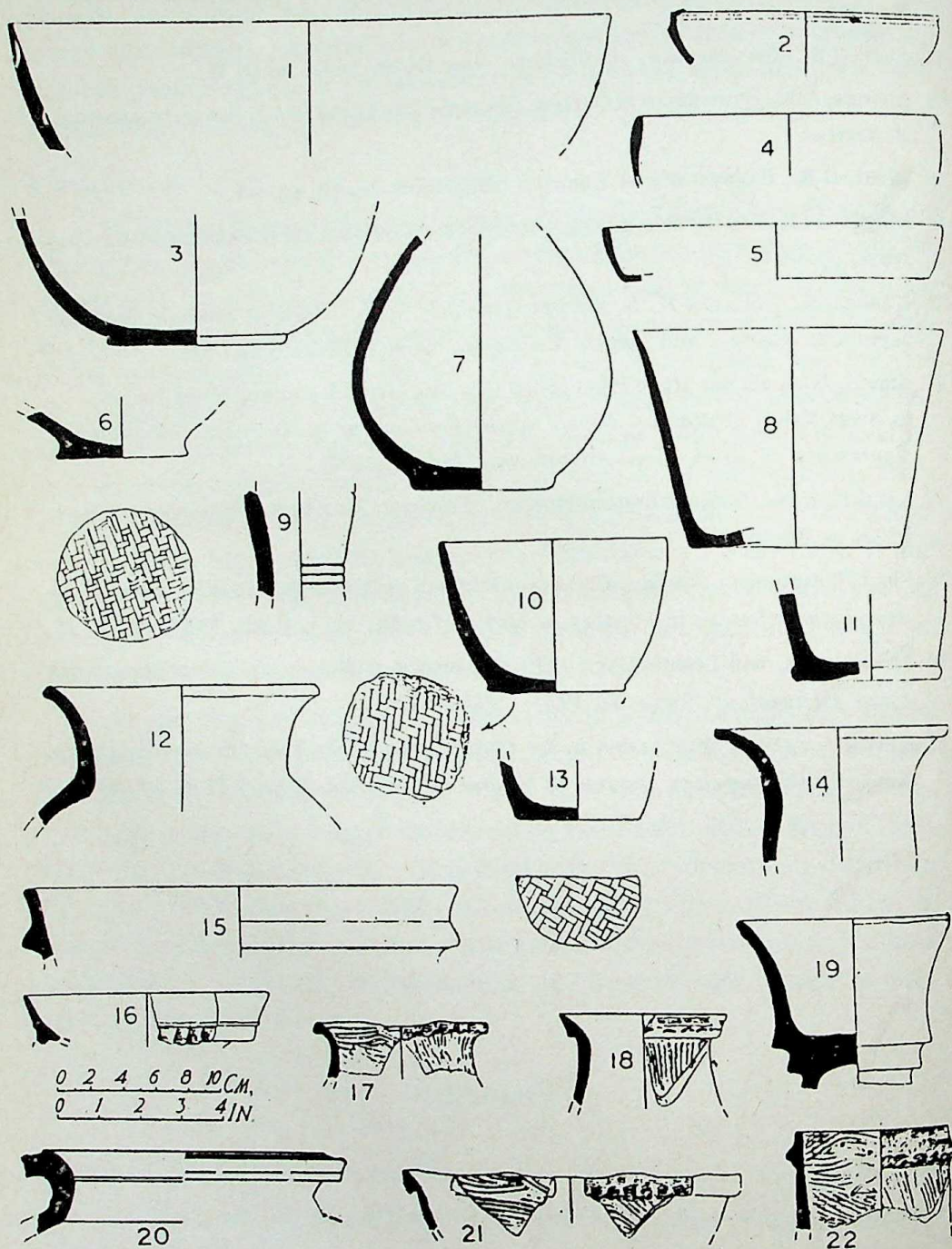
Fig. 1 Burzahom neolithic pottery
(After A.S.I.)
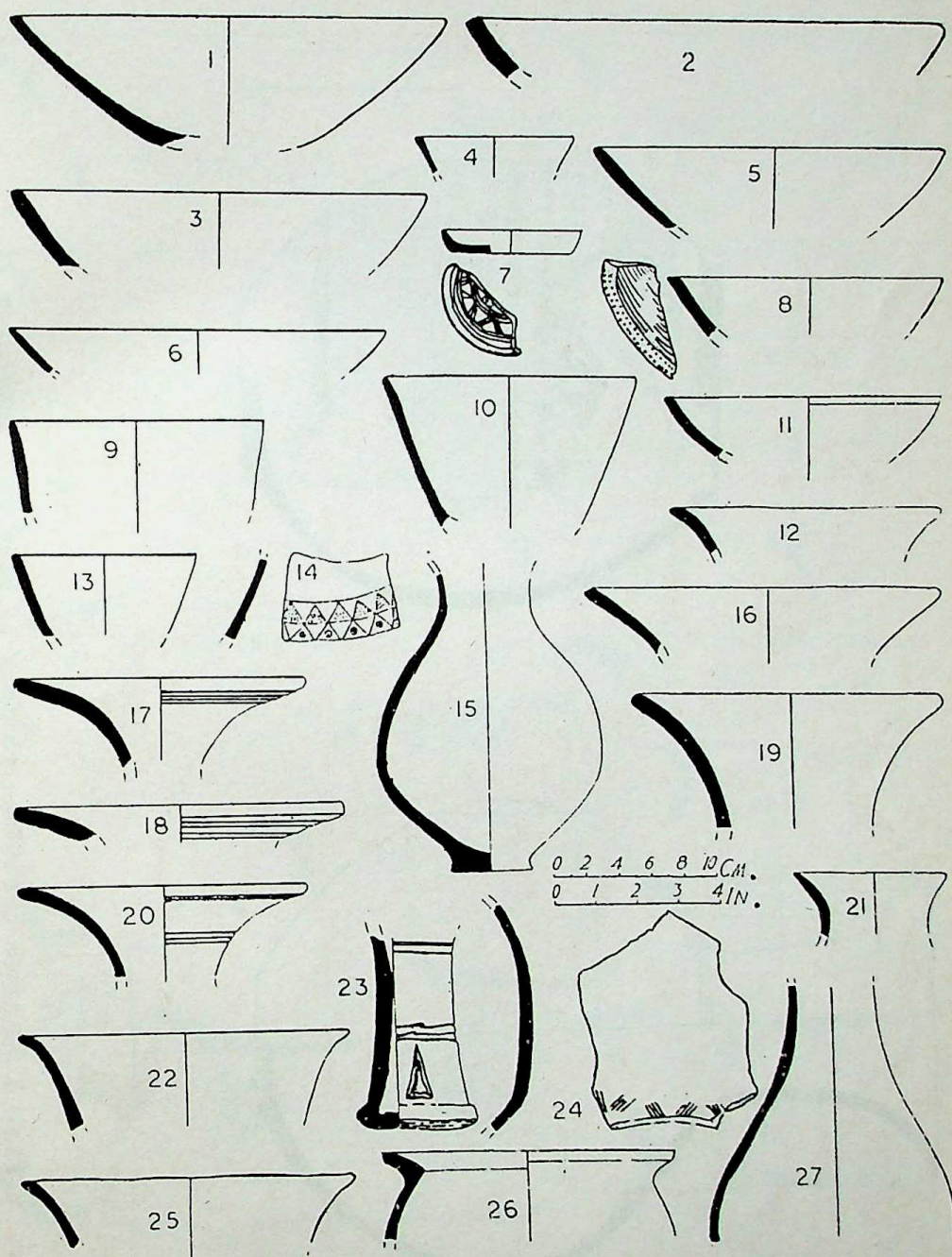
Fig. 2 Burzahom neolithic pottery (After A.S.I.)
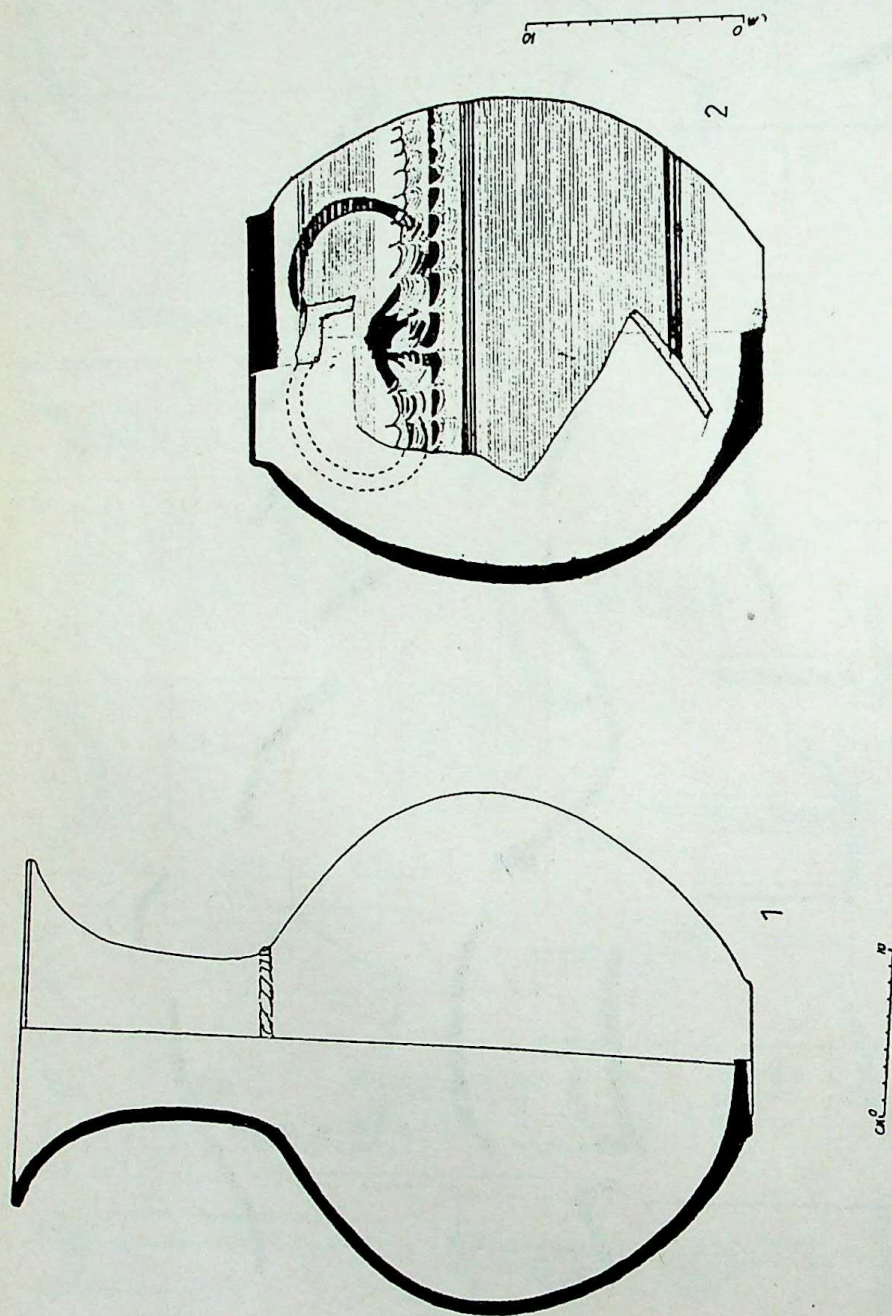
Fig. 3 Burzahom neolithic pottery 1; vase with bukranium 2. (After Saar)
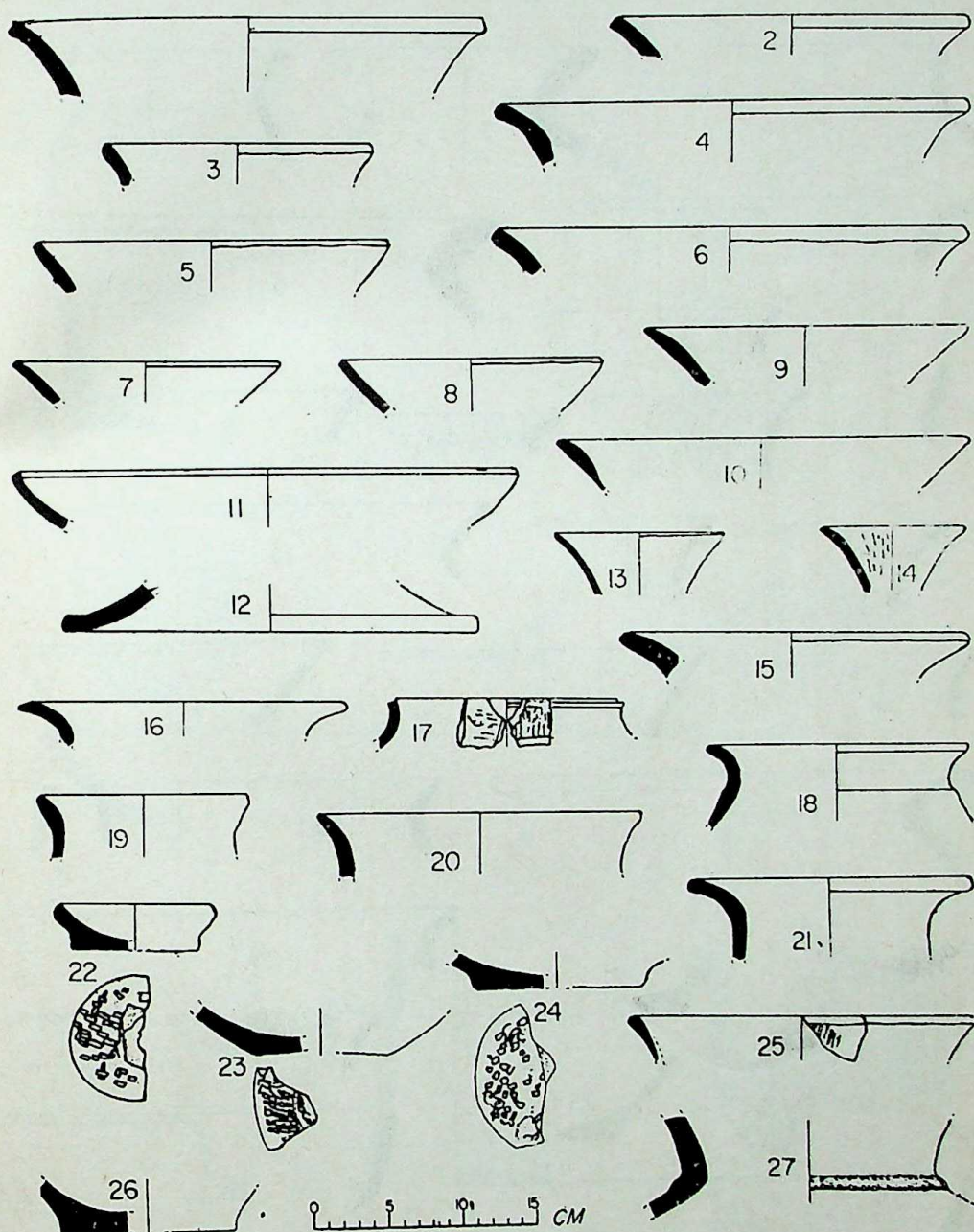
Fig. 4 Gufkral neolithic pottery Period IB (After A.S.I.)
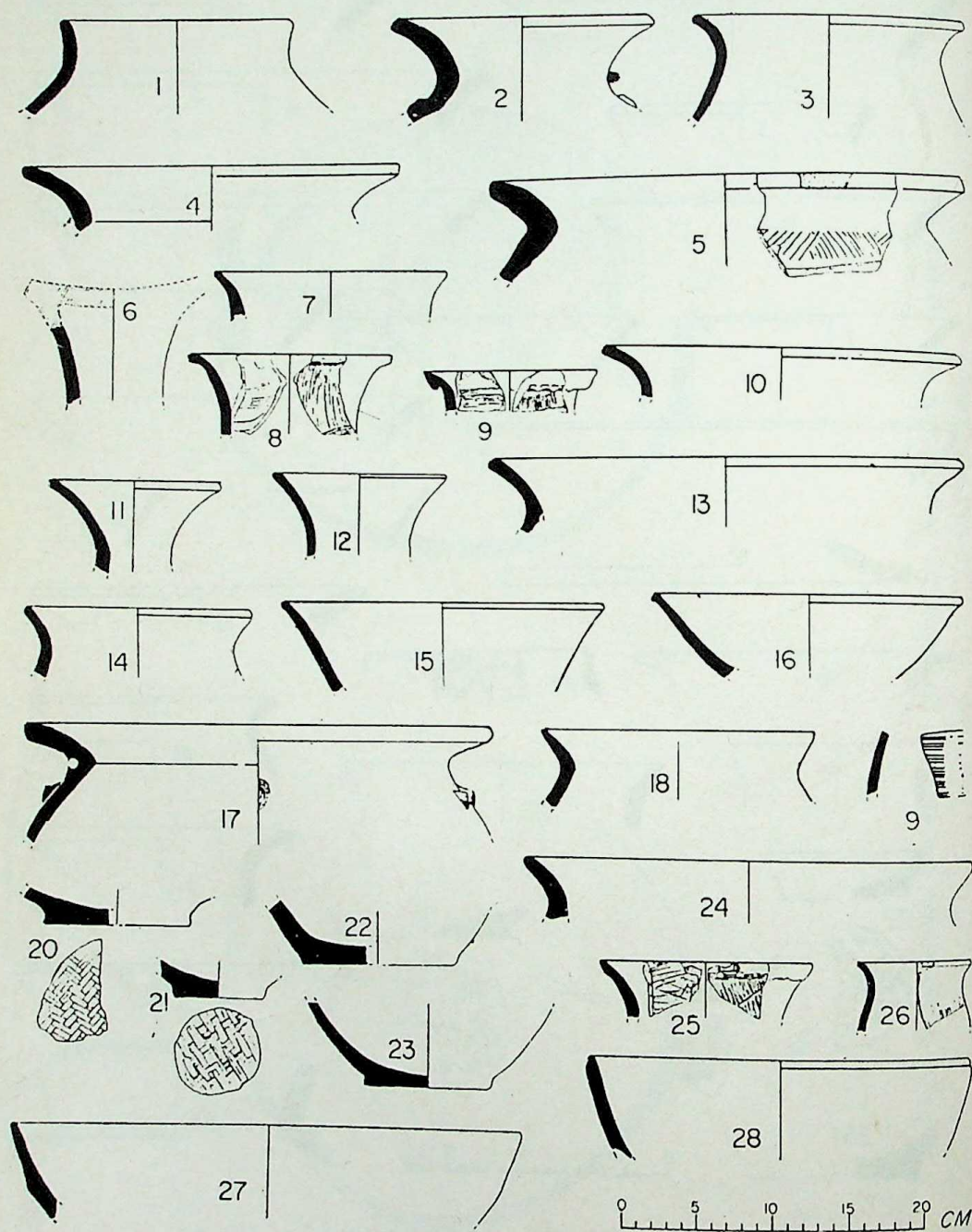
Fig. 5 Gufkral neolithic pottery Period IC
(After A.S.I.)
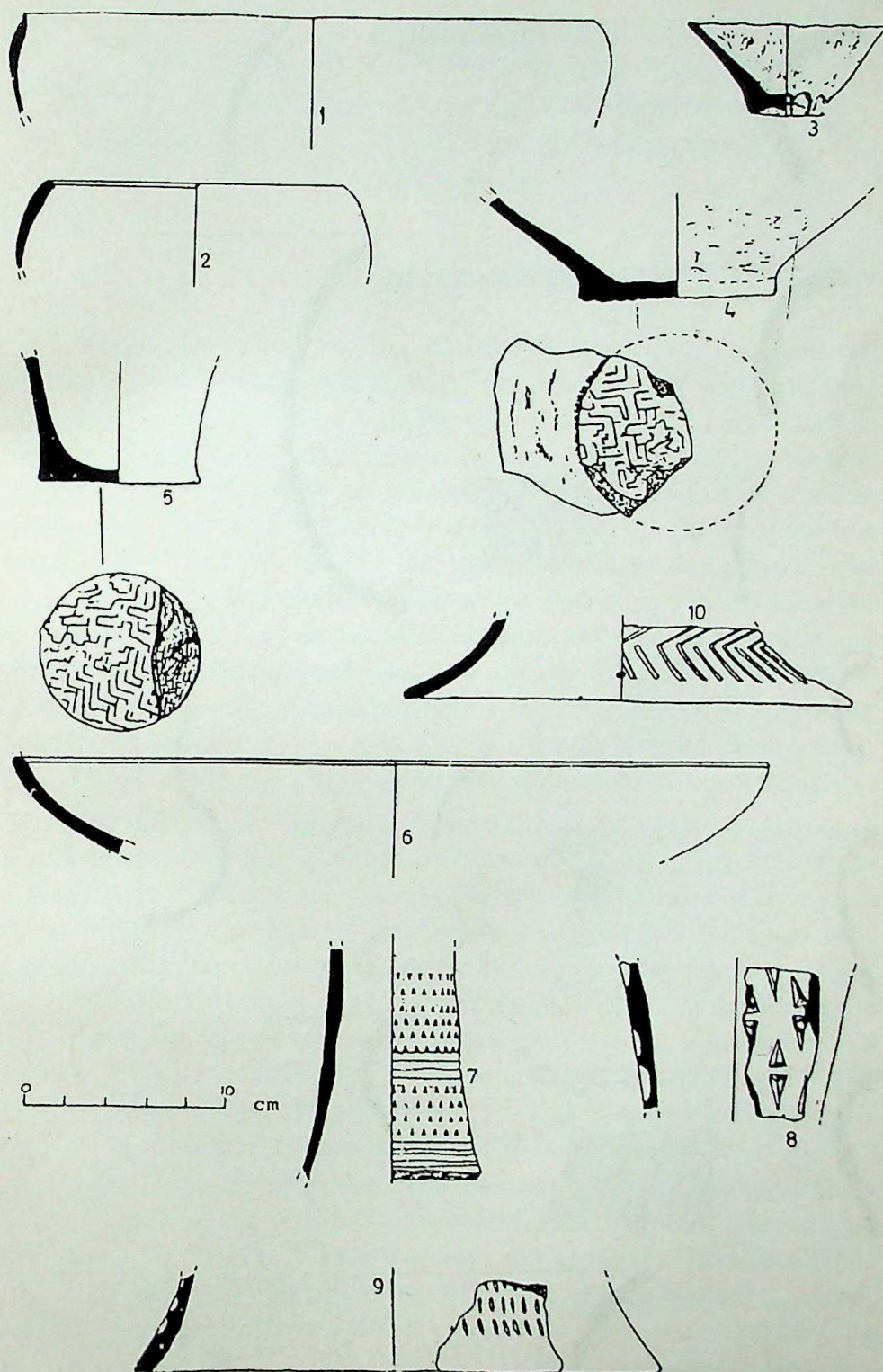
Fig. 6 Kanispur neolithic pottery Period II
(After B.R.Mani)
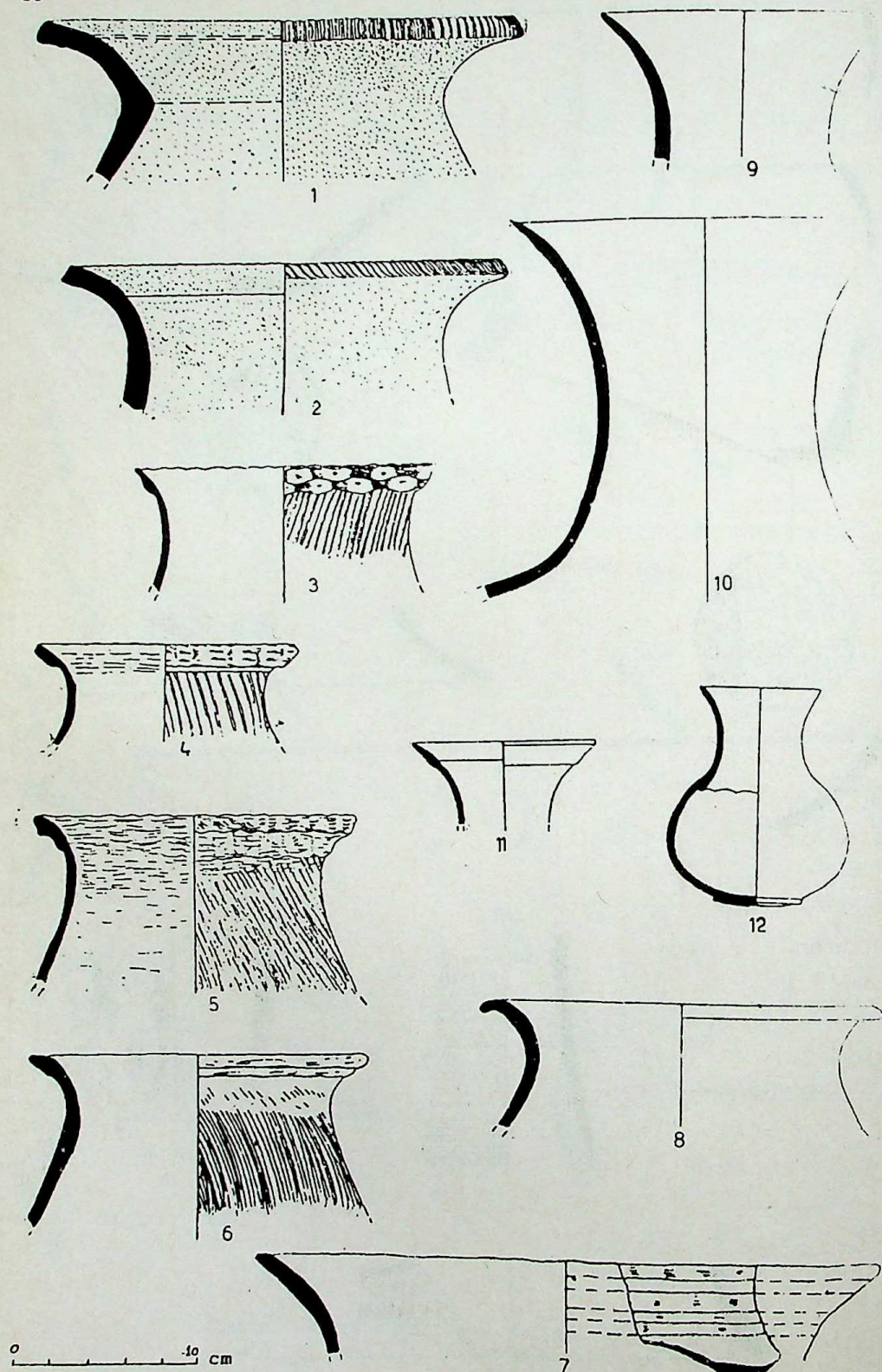
Fig. 7 Kanispur neolithic pottery Period II
(After B.R.Mani)

THE VERAVAL INSCRIPTION (1264 A.D.) OF CHĀLUKYA-VĀGHELA KING ARJUNADEVA- A UNIQUE DISPOSITION OF THE RELIGIOUS HARMONY AND TOLERANCE

Sheo Bahadur Singh*

The present inscription is a valuable record as far as it represents synthesis, conciliation, rapprochement, liberal view and helping attitude of the Hindus and Muslims during the early-medieval age, particularly in Gujarat. The people of both communities accepted the divergent thoughts of other's faith with regard and reverence. Herein a Hindu Raja donates a plot of land for the construction of a mosque and also helps in various ways for its completion. Not only this much, the Hindus also gifted temple property and cesses of secular buildings for maintaining and financing the mosque in performing various ritual activities. It shows the channelling of liberal thoughts, large-heartedness, deep understanding and helping attitude of the Hindus towards Muslim brethern without any ill-will or bitterness. In this context the inscription is important and quite relevant in the present time full of ill-will, hatred and bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.

The inscription,[1] originally found at Somanātha Pāṭan is now fixed in a temple wall of Harshada Mātā at Veraval (Gujarat). The date of the inscription is given as Sunday, the 13th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Ashāḍha* in the year given in four different eras synchronising in the Hindu and Muslim calenders; such as year 662 of Rasula Mahammada (Hijri); year 1320 of Vikram *Saṁvat*; year 955 of the Valabhi (*i.e.*, Gupta era) and year 151 of the Siṁha era with a synthesising approach. The date corresponds to the 25th May, 1264 A.D. The inscription records the author's obeisance to Viśvanātha (the Lord of the universe) who is also *sūnyarūpa* (void form), *viśvarūpa* (universal form) and *lakshyālakshya* (visible and invisible), all indicative of Hindu formless God. The interesting feature of the inscription is the syncretic approach in the Hindu and Muslim religions by mentioning that the followers of the Prophet Muhammad were devoted to Viśvanātha.[2] This evidently shows that the word Viśvanātha is here implied for Allah, the Muhammadan God. Normally, the word Viśvanātha is used for the Lord Śiva but here it is employed for the God Allah due to intimate contact of

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both the communities in the Kathiawad region. However, it is not clear whether the author of the record was a Muhammadan or Hindu but he was well versed in the meanings of a number of Arabic words.

The next verses refer to the reign of the Chālukya-Vāghela king *Mahārājādhirāja* Arjunadeva residing at Anahillapāṭaka (capital Anhilvāḍa, modern Patan, Mehsana district, Gujarat) and the administration conducted by the king's subordinate *mahāmātya* Mālādeva, probably the Chief Minister or Chief Administrator or Viceroy of the Kathiawad. A *Pañchakula* (a board of administratiors consisting of five members) was incharge of the administration of Somanāthadevapaṭṭana where the inscription was engraved. Among them two members of the *Pañchakula* are referred to be *Paravīrabhadra*, a great preceptor of Śaiva-Pāśupata sect, and Abhayasiṁha of merchantile class having the surname of Puri and Maham. It seems that the Śaiva teacher Vīrabhadra, a priest of a local temple was the head of the *Pañchakula* and Abhayasiṁha was his main associate.

The chief figure in the record is Nākhū (commander of a ship) Noradina Piroja (Nuruddin Firuz), the son of Khojā (a rich man or a merchant) Nau Abu Brahima of Hurmuja *deśa* (the island of Ormuz in the strait connecting the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman) who came to Somanāthadevanagara in connection with his business. The notable feature of the inscription is that this Nākhū Nuruddin Firuz obtained a plot of land[3] as a donation by a Hindu chief for doing anything he likes together with *nava-nidhāna* (fresh assessment of tax) and in accordance with the principle of *sparsana* (a gift or donation) from Bṛiha Rājā Chhāda, the son of Rājā Nānasiṁha at Mahājanapati lying in Sikottari outside Somanāthadevanagara, although he had to pay taxes for it. The land was donated in the presence of all the *jamathas* (assembly) including leading men like Bṛihatpurusha, Tha (Thākkura) Palugideva who was the *pratyaya* (dependent or subject) of Mahājana attached to the *droṇī* (estate belonging to a temple) of Somanāthadeva, Bṛihatpurusha Rāṇaka Sōmeśvaradeva, Bṛihatpurusha Ramadeva, Bṛihatpurusha Bhīmasiṁha and Bṛihatpurusha Rājā Chhāda (who gifted the land).

The next verses record that Nākhū Firuz, the supporter of his faith, being extremely pious and believer of his faith caused to built a place of worship (*dharma-sthāna*) in the shape of *mijigatī*[4] (masjid or mosque) within the plot of land, for his emancipation (*ātmanaḥ śreyārthaṁ*) with the help of Bṛiharājā (Chhāda). This passage is quite interesting as an upper caste Hindu chieftain helped in the construction of a mosque by gifting his own land and also helping in various other ways for its completion (possibly,

he might have helped the construction work with labourers and materials within his means and resources). This is a rare liberalism and synthesis of faith, not only tolerance, rather helping the other's faith in various ways for the religious harmony and rapprochement in the medieval India, and is very relevant in present Indian context. The expression *dharma-bāndhava* in the inscription is remarkable as besides its literal meaning that the one whose only friend is his religious faith, it also means 'persons who have become friends on the oath of their religions.' Thus, it seems that both the Hindu chieftain and Muslim ship-owner were great friends on an oath of their religions. The mosque is stated to have been made facing the east and the additional purpose underlying the deed is stated to have been the attainment of an everlasting fame in the world.

In addition to the gifted land, a number of other grants were also made out of temple's property and secular buildings for financing the mosque. The gifts made in favour of the mosque are the entire *pallādīka* (a kind of temple property) belonging to the god Vakuleśvaradeva and consisting of houses facing different directions and covered with *triṇa-chchhādya* (huts of grass etc.) and kaveluka (tile) which was situated within Somanāthadevanagara. This was secured from a Hindu priest *Tripurāntaka* (the head of the temple of the god Navaghāneśvaradeva[5] and Ratneśvara, (the priest of the temple after god Vināyakabhaṭṭāraka). Furthermore, another *pallādīka* (temple property) which lay close to a two-storeyed temple had an unmutilated wall on the four boundaries and had an exit and an entrance gate facing the north as well as fixed boundaries and rights of enjoyments, although a house facing east and belonging to Sūtra (*sūtradhāra*, an artisan) Kahnaia lying in the plot of land, had been excluded. This exclusion of an artisan's house from the grants is quite interesting as it shows the importance of artisans in the society. One oil mill (as well as) its *dāna* (a toll or tax) which was a *pala* weight (4 tolas of oil out of each standard measure of oil pressed at the mill) and two *haṭṭas* (shops or market places) lying in front of the mosque, were obtained from the following persons in accordance with the *sparśanany-aya* or principle guiding donations, such as Nirmālya, Chhāda and Sodhala's son Kilhaṇadeva and Luṇasīha (Lavaṇasiṁha), Dharaṇī and Māsuma, sons of Tha. (Thākkura) Sohana, as also Rāṇā (Rāṇuka) Asadhara (Asadhara) residing at Balyārthakāreṇa. The noteworthy feature of the record is that they (donors) all were Hindus who were instrumental in the grants for financing the mosque. Even the temple's property was also granted for the maintenance of the mosque, a rare liberal view of Hindus for other's religious faith and regard for harmony.

The liberality for Muslim religion was to such an extent that secular buildings (shops etc.) were also granted to the mosque. The most interesting thing of the record is that Firuz had received these grants in the favour of mosque by observing Hindu rituals by offering libation of water etc. as prescribed in Hindu scriptures.

The purpose of the grant was manifold, such as the maintenance of the place of worship (mosque), for the daily provision of worship, light, oil and drinks in the mosque, for the maintenance of the malima (Arabic muallim-an instructor), modina (Arabic muazzin, public crier to payers) and a monthly reader (of the holy Quran) for the observance of particular religious festivals (*pūjā-mahotsava*) like the Barātiśabi (Shabi-barāt), a Muslim festival observed in the night of 14th of the month of Shāban in memory of dead ancestors and khatamarātri-means the night when the reading of the entire Quran is completed in a single night, in accordance with the custom (samāchāra) of the leaders or owners of ships (nauviṭṭaka) and for the annual expenditure on Chhohā (mortar) and Chūnā (lime) and repairs to the rent (in the building) and the wearing out of its parts. The mosque was to be taken care by a board of trustees in the form of a number of Muslim congregations.

In the concluding para, the verses indicate that with the āya-pada (source of income) indicated above, Firuz's mosque should have to be kept up and maintained and its old and worn out parts should have to be repaired so long as the moon, the planets and the stars endure, for the salvation of Nau (Nauviṭṭaka or Naukhudā) Firuz. It further records that whatever surplus remains (in the hands) of those who make payments out of the said income for the upkeep and maintenance of the place of worship (mosque) and for the expense of particular festivals and that of holy occasions, should have to be sent to the places of worship at Makhā (Mecca) and Madinā (Medina). It is noteworthy that Nuruddin Firuz did not think of spending the surplus amount in some good cause in the land where the mosque was built but arranged for its dispatch to distant Mecca and Medina, probably due to his intense religious zeal and faith. It also makes mention of the people responsible for handling the property of the mosque (trustees of the property). It refers that the above source of income should be protected and the mosque maintained jointly by the following congregations (of Muhammadans such as the congregation of the Nakhuyanorika (*naukhudā-nāvika*, owners of ships and sailors), the congregation of ghamehikas (oil-men) belonging to the town (śahara) together with their khātiba (preacher), the congregation of the chunnakāras (lime-burners or white washers and the congregation

of the Musalamānas among the patrapat (tangawalas ?) etc. The city is referred to as Somanāthapaṭṭana.

Thus, the inscription records the broad-minded views of the Hindus and Muslims with conciliatory approach, rapprochement and regard for each others religious faiths and was a contributory factor for the growth of religious harmony in Gujarat region in the medieval India and is quite relevant in the modern Indian context, for the generous change in our attitudes and thoughts.

References

1. Hultzsch, E., *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.XI, pp.241-45; Sircar, D. C., *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. xxxiv, pt.3, pp.141-50.
2. *Namostute śrī Viśvanātha-pratīva (ba), ddha-tau (nau) jananaṁ vo (bo) dhaka-Rasūla Mahammada.*
3. *Śrī-Nānasiha suta-v (ṛi) (bṛi) ha-rāja-śri-chhā (da)-prabhṛitinaṁ parsvat śrī Somanātha-devanagara - Ve (ba) hye Sikottaryan Mahāyāna (jana) pālyaṁ........... sparsana nyāyena saṁ (upa) ṭṭam (ttaṁ) ii tatdṛ nākhū Piroje na sva dharmaśāstra abhiprāyena.....*
4. *Sthāne pūrva - abhimukha-mijigiti dharmasthānaṁ bṛiharāja śrī chhāda sakhā (ha yatvena dharmma - bāndhavena kāritaṁ (taṁ) nākhū Pirojena.*
5. *Śrī Navaghāneśvaradeviya-sthānapati-śri-Parā Tripurāntaka tatha Vināyaka-bhallāraka parā Ratneśvara - prabhṛitinaṁ parsvat upatta śrī (So) manāthadevanagara madhye śri-Vauleśvaradeviya samagra pallādika............... gṛihau - upeta..............*

THE DEVARĀJA CULT OF KAMBUJA

S. N. Kapur*

The de facto founder of the mighty Angkor dynasty, which acquired unparalleled political and cultural ascendency all over South-east Asia was Jayavarman II (802-850 A.D.). In his great endeavours, he was assisted by his Brāhmaṇa priest, Śivakaivalya. Around 819 A.D., he overthrew the Jāvan-Śrīvijaya suzerainty and declared himself an independent ruler. He also consolidated many small contending principalities into a united Khmer kingdom and conquered the Vyādhpura-Baphonom and Vrai Krapai regions to the north-west and south-west of the Great Lake, upper chenla (modern central Laos) and lower chenla. To mark this important event, he performed a grand religio-political ceremony. For this purpose, Hiraṇyadāma, a renowned Brāhmaṇa scholar was invited from India. During the consecration-ceremony, Hirṇyadāma declared the independence of Kambuja *deśa* from Jāvānese supremacy and proclaimed Jayavarman II as a *chakravartin* (universal monarch). The account of this ceremony is given in Sdok Kak Thom Stele Inscription of king Udayādityavarman II (Śaka era 974 *i.e.*,1052 A.D.).[1]

According to this account, Hirṇyadāma in accordance with the rites given in the Vināśika (A Tantra text recited the *mantra 'Kamraten Jagat ta rāja' i.e.*,(Devarāja). Texts from the *Nayottara, Sammoha* and *Śiraschheda* (all Tantric texts) were also read.[2] All these have not been, positively identified but were, almost certainly Tantric Śaivite canons. Hirṇyadāma instructed Śivakaivalya in Jagat-ta-rāja cult and it was agreed upon that in future, the Devarāja ceremony would be performed by the Purohita Śivakaivalya and his descendants only. By this agreement Śivakaivalya and his descendants became hereditary purohitas of the royal house.[3] The royal priest was the protector of the royal lingam and the sacred sword of Kambuja, the sword that is palladium of Kambuja and which is guarded day and night by the Bakus (ancient brāhmaṇas).[4] This sword was to be handed over to the new ruler at the time of his coronation. As it was believed that rust on the sword would bring a national disaster, it was kept absolutely clean and rust free.

The most remarkable feature of the Devarāja ceremony was the establishment of a politico-religious theocracy in Kambuja comprising two

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permanent posts in the kingdom, the king and the purohita. It is noteworthy that though monarchy as well as the office of the purohita became hereditary; both the monarch and the purohita were to be elected by the Great Council. The obvious inference is that the two officials (king and purohita) were to be elected from among the members of the royal family and the family of Śivakaivalya respectively.

The Devarāja cult initiated by Jayavarman II, was based on the parallelism between Macro-cosmos and Micro-cosmos; between universe and the world of men, and the harmony between the empire and the universe was obtained by organising the former as the image of the latter, as a universe on a smaller scale.[5] The Devarāja cult was actually the assimilation of a host of religious traditions current in Kambuja since ancient times *viz*. Nāga worship, Śiva worship, lingam worship, ancestor worship, worship of the lord of mountains, of the fertility of the earth etc. 'The upright stone symbol of the god of fertility of earth was synthesized with the linga, which represented the magical essence of royality.'[6] Ancestor worship of the neolithic age was given the form of worship of the person of the king, dead or alive. The assimilation of serpent worship in Devarāja cult is testified to by the Chinese envoy chou-Ta-Kuan who reports:

'In the palace there is a golden tower (phimeankas) on the top of which the king sleeps. All natives believe that in the tower, there is the spirit of a nine-headed serpent, master of earth and that of the whole kingdom. It appears every night in the form of a woman with whom the king must sleep. If one night the spirit does not appear, then the time for the king to die has arrived.'[7]

It is to be noted that the ancient tradition of nāga worship in Kambuja required 'the royal consort in the form of a female transfiguration of the god of soil to have nighty intercource with the divine king at the top of the sacred pyramidal tower.'[8]

It is significant that the mystic rituals of the Divarāja cult were mainly aimed at transforming the king into an independent manifestation of Lord Śiva.[9] According to South-east asian belief, Śiva could enter the 'material' body of the king only through the rituals performed by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śiva-Siddhānta sect who could invoke the God and grant to the king immortality and divine omnipotence for maintaining law and order in the realm.[10] The office of purohita became very important and he wielded great influence in the religio-political theocracy. 'The king God was conceived to be the

eternal and abstract essence of the king blessed with divine essence and worshipped in the form of a linga. To the first part of the king's name the suffix Iśvara was conjoined.'[11]

During the reign of Jayavarman II, the royal lingam (which might have been known by the name of Jayeśvara), was enshrined by Hirṇyadāma on the Rong chen summit in a terraced temple which symbolised Mount Meru, the abode of Śiva according to Hindu mythology. This temple became the centre of the capital; indeed, it was deemed to be the axis of the whole universe.

New demensions were added to the Devarāja cult by some successors of Jayavarman II, like Indravarman I Yaśovarman, Rājendravarman II, and Sūryavarman. Indravarman I (877-889 A.D.), besides enshrining the royal lingam, Indreśvara, at the pyramid of Pakong, south of Preah-Ko, dedicated six stuccoed brick towers of Preah-Ko to the status of his parents and maternal grand parents in the guise of deities, and jayavarman II and his queen as Śiva and Devi.[12] Yaśovarman (889-900 A.D.) who succeeded Indravarman, constructd a similar four towered brick sanctuary at Harihaṛālaya (later known as Lolie) and enshrined the images of his parents and grand-parents in these towers.[13] Rājendravarman II (944-968 A.D.) is reported to have built a sanctuary in brilliant gold, and a five-towered temple in East Mebon Rup. In this temple, the statues of his parents were placed in the form of Śiva and Umā. The royal lingam, Rājendreśvara, was housed in the central tower. Later this royal lingam was enshrined by the new name of Rājendrabhadreśvara in another mountain temple of Pre-Rup. In one of the corner towers of this temple was placed an image of Vishṇu by the name of Rājendraviśvarūpa.

The Devarāja cult was essentially connected with Śiva worship, although Vishṇu was partially associated with it by Rājendravarman II, as seen above. Yet another diversion is to be seen during the reign of Sūryavarman I (1011-1050 A.D.), who was deified, not as a Śiva lingam as was earlier practice but as Buddharāja, and this marks the syncretism of Mahāyāna Buddhism with Śaivism in Kampuchea. But the Devarāja cult reverted to the Śaiva tradition after him. The impact of the emergence of Vaishṇavism as a popular religion in Kampuchea about the time of Sūryavarman II (1113-1150 A.D.) is to be seen in the fact that this ruler was not deified as a Śiva lingam, but as a Vishṇu icon.[14]

Jayavarman VII (1181-1220 A.D.) again changed the character of theocracy from Śaiva and Vaishṇava, to Buddhist.[15] But his reign was followed

by a strong and violent Śaiva reaction against Buddhism. Thus neither the Buddhist experiment of Sūryavarman I and Jayavarman VII nor the Vaishṇava experiment of Sūryavarman II were fully successful. The monarchy and high officials again and again reverted to Śaivism, and worship of Śiva remained dominant in the Devarāja cult of Kampuchea.

The Devarāja cult occupies a unique position in the history of religious sects. Like Egypt, it served the interests of political power, but at the same time reveals syncretic tendencies, a hallmark of Indian culture. Essentially Śaiva Tāntric in character, the Devarāja cult combined popular practices of local origin with higher systems of religion. The Vaishṇava and the Buddhist leanings of some rulers of the Kampuchean ruling family endowed it with new complexion. Although these elements did not survive long, at least the cult was vibrant enough to accommodate them. It represents a glorious phase of Indian culture in Kampuchea.

Notes And References

1. The Śiva temple of Sdok kak Thom is a very important one in Kambuja. The inscription engraved in this temple contains 192 lines in Sanskrit, then 29 lines in Khmer, followed by two lines in Sanskrit and 117 lines in Khmer. This inscription is historically the most important in the whole series of Kambuja inscriptions. It relates the history and religious foundations of a priestly family which flourished for two centuries and a half, from 802 to 1052 A.D. It gives interesting accounts of the various kings who ruled from Jayavarman II to Udayādityavarman II.
2. शास्त्रं शिरश्छेदविनाशिखाख्यं सम्मोहनामापि नयोत्तराख्यम्।
   तत्तुंबुरोर्वक्त्रचतुष्क्रमस्य सिद्धयेव विप्रः समदर्शयत् सः।। Sdok-Kak-Thom stele inscription verse, 28, in R. C., Majumdara's, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p.374. According to P.C. Bagchi, *Nayottara* belongs to the oldest Śaiva Āgama and other texts are of later date, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. vi,p.97.
3. Chatterjee, B.R., *Indian Influence in Cambodia* p.72; Briggs, L.P., The Ancient Khmer Empire, p.190.
4. Beri, K.K., *History and Culture of South-East Asia*, p.265.
5. *Ibid.*, p.260.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Quartich Wales, H.G., *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp.190-91.
8. Beri, *op.cit.*, p.260.

9. Cady, John F., *South-East Asia : Its Historical Development*, p.89.
10. Fisher, C.A., *A Social Economic and Political Geography*, p.86.
11. Beri, *op.cit.*, p.261.
12. *Ibid.*, p.262.
13. *Ibid.*, p.262-63.
14. *Ibid.*, p.264.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.264-65, 267.

LATE GUPTA EPIGRAPHS AND IMAGES FROM KAPĀLA-MOCHANA

Devendra Handa*

Kapāla-Mochana[1] is a holy *tīrtha* of Haryana. It is located on the eastern bank of the Sarsuti river[2] nearly 15 kms. north-east of Jagadhri in district Yamunanagar on Jagadhari-Dhanaura metalled road and can also be approached from Sadhaura which lies nearly at the same distance in its north-west and joins the Jagadhari-Dhanaura road at Bilaspur whence Kapāla-Mochana is only 4 kms. north.

The *Mahābhārata*[3] and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[4] narrate the story of sage Mahodara (or Rahodara) who got rid of the head of a demon sticking to his neck here. It was also called Auśanasa or Śukra *tīrtha* as having propitiated the God. Śukra attained the status of a planet here.[5] The noble sage performed severe austerities and planned the battle between the gods and demons at this very place.[6] The cumulative evidence of all these references, however, indicates the existence of Kapāla-Mochana on the bank of the river Sarsuti at Pehowa, the ancient Pṛihūdaka,[7] near which there still exists at village Mangana a temple dedicated to Uśaneśvara Mahādeva.[8] There were in reality, various *tīrthas* of this name located in Varanasi, Avanti, Kashmir, Māyāpur (Haridwar) etc.'[9], but the existence of two homonymous holy places in close vicinity is somewhat baffling, though interesting also.

Cunningham was the first scholar to bring Kapāla-Mochana near jagadhri to light together with its archaeological remains which included, besides others, two fragmentary 'Gupta' inscriptions. He observed that "Both of them are unfortunately only fragments, but as they are in Gupta characters and in beautiful preservation, they are of considerable value in enabling us to fix the probable date of the temple to which they belonged. Their fragmentary state is the more to be regretted as one of them contained a written date."[10] Cunningham illustrated eye-copies of both the inscriptions (Fig.1) which he read as -

(i) *Ssri bhâjisthitassa matya setbhichha*, and

(ii) *Sate châpi panchashashṭhyādhike tathâ Mâgha mâse sita* (cf.Fig.2).

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Though the first eye-copy seems to be somewhat erroneous, yet the second copy is closer to the actual and gives us the date : "When (?) hundred and sixty-five years had elapsed in the month of Māgha, the bright (half) ...."[11] Cunningham thought that the date belongs to the Gupta era. The Kapāla-Mochana temple may have thus belonged to 320+165=485 A.D.[12] The palaeography of the letters, however, indicates a later date. We differ from Cunningham in reading the first letter as *Śa*. It is *ga*. So our reading is: *gate chāpi panchashashṭhyādhike tathā Māgha māse sita*. The words *chāpi* and *tathā* used in putting the date are also unusual. The inscription may have been dated in the Harsha era and inscribed in 606+65=671 A.D.[13]

Cunningham also found on the site an Indo-Sassanian silver coin and several coins of Menander in the bazars of Sadhaura, which according to his information, all came from Kapāla-Mochana.[14] During the course of one century after Rodgers, many more relics from the site have been recovered and our investigations during the last more than a quarter century have resulted in corroborating Cunningham's conclusion of the existence of a late Gupta temple at Kapāla-Mochana. Important amongst these relics are another fragmentary late Gupta inscription, late Gupta images and carved bricks.

Fragmentary late Gupta inscription (Figs. 3&3a)

This inscription, engraved on an architectural stone belonging to the *vedībandha* of a late Gupta temple is fragmentary. It consists of two lines which read as follows :

(i) *ra-pushpeśvarasya p(u)treṇa*

(ii) *(s)ṭhita(m) su(ū)tradhāreṇa*

Obviously the lines ran longer, on stones preceding and following the present one. *Ra* of the first line seems to have been the last letter of a word or title preceding *Pushpeśvarsya*. It may have been a title like *Paramamāheśvara*, but it is only a surmise. The second line was preceded by prati. Probably, both the lines may have been followed by the proper names of Pushpeśvara's son and the *sūtradhāra*, at least.

The palaeography seems to be earlier than the fragmentary inscriptions illustrated by Cunningham. The epigraph indicates that the temple was built by the son of Pushpeśvara.

Images

There are a few images which seem to have originally adorned some

late Gupta fane(s). One of these represents Umā-Maheśvara and is now preserved in the Radha-Krishna-Temple. Measuring 32x30 cms. in its extant form, it is very much weathered and now badly painted. Gupta style of carving which may have lingered on in this region, however, may still be discerned very clearly.

The second relief represents a head, probably of Vishṇu (FIg.4). It is now preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh.[15] It is quite worn out but the disc or rosette in the centre of the crown with loops of pearl strings issuing from its hub and joined to the side rosettes may still be made out clearly. This type of crown is a characteristic feature of the Gupta period.[16] The serene face and physiognomy ,however, lack the typical Gupta touch and indicate a late Gupta date.

The same department also possesses the upper part of a rectangular slab from Kapāla-Mochana. It measures 23x16 cms. and represents the bust of Vaikuṇṭha (Fig.5) The state of preservation is poor. The central human face with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and placid expression, the boar face on proper left and the stylised and humanized leonine face on the right are, however, very clear and leave little doubt to its being a Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti.[17] There is no nimbus behind the head and we do not know the number of hands the god may have possessed. Stylistically, however, it is of late Gupta affiliation. It may also be mentioned incidentally that it is one of the earliest examples of Vaikuṇṭha images from Haryana.

A pillar from Kapāla-Mochana, 41 cms. in height in its extant form, with Gaṅga, standing facing holding a waterpot in her right hand raised to the level of the shoulder and *pralamba* left hand carved on the front facet (Fig.6) also betrays late Gupta features[18] and indicates the existence of a late Gupta temple on the site.

Some typical Gupta carved bricks with grotesque faces (Fig.7) have also been found from Kapāla-Mochana.

The foregoing account, thus makes it amply clear that Kapāla-Mochana must have been an important holy place of Haryana during the Gupta and later periods.[19]

Notes and references

1. Also called Gopāla-Mochana. See *Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore 1925, p.143.
2. It has been identified with the ancient Sarasvatī river.

3. *Mahābhārata* (cr.ed.), ix.38.11-20.
4. *Vamana Purāṇa,* xxxix.5-14.
5. *ibid*, XLII, 25.
6. *Mbh*, IX, 38,6.
7. For details see Devendra Handa, "Pehowa - The Ancient Pṛithūdaka" *Purāṇa*, Vol. IX, No.2, July 1967, pp.297-306.
8. Devendra Handa, *Pehowa* (Ms.submitted to the Haryana Sahitya Akademy, Chandigarh for publication), pp.85-86.
9. See for details Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.iv, BORI, Poona, 1953, p.763.
10. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, ASI*, Vol. xiv, p.77.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Since the beginning of the Gupta era had not been determined by that time, Cunningham calculated the date of this inscription as 431 or 531 A.D.
13. Cf. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, pp.77-78. I have discussed the palaeography with my colleague Dr. Ashvini Agrawal who suggested an early medieval period for it. I feel convinced that the record may not have been inscribed before the seventh century A.D. I thank Dr. Agrawal for his suggestions. The veteran scholar Prof. Jagannath Agrawal also endorses this view.
14. Charles J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89*, pp.27-28.
15. Acc. No. 1/102. It measures 27.5 x 20 cms. We are thankful to the Director of the Department to have kindly allowed us to study this as well as other images in the collection of the department and also to photograph them for publication.
16. Cf. Harle, J.C., *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974, p.18 and Pls. 8,18,61,62 etc.
17. Acc. No. 1/264.
18. Acc. No. 1/307.
19. It is to be noted that a large mound exists at Sandhaya, a village located very close to the Kapāla-Mochana *tīrtha*. This mound also yields Gupta pottery, terracottas and other relics besides, of course, late Harappan and medieval remains. This may have been the village habitation of Kapāla-Mochana in ancient times. Sandhaya as well as Kapāla-Mochana possess a large number of medieval sculptures also most of which are still unpublished.
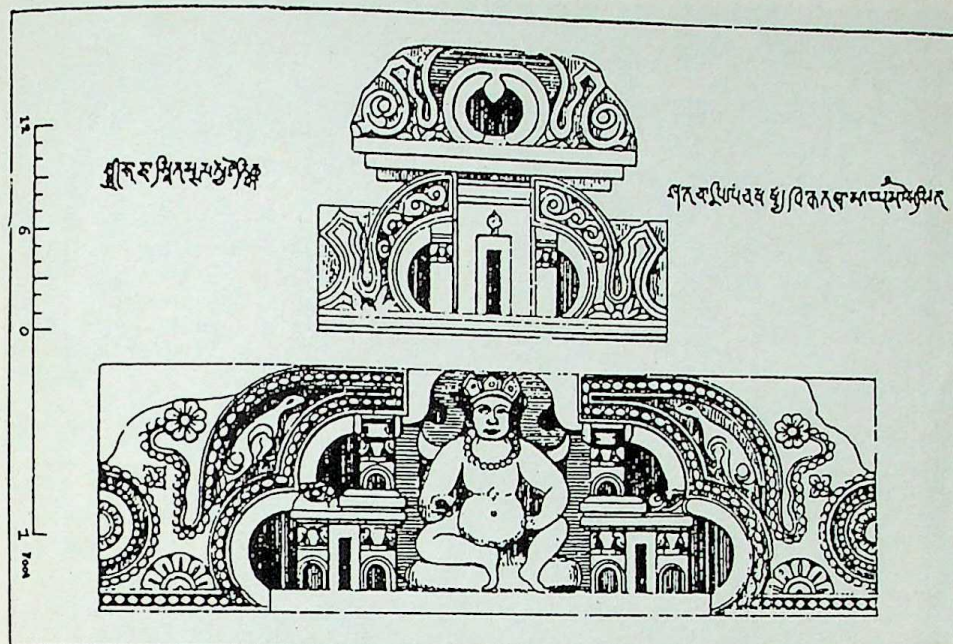
Fig. 1. Fragmentary inscriptions & other remains (after Cunningham).

Fig. 2. Fragmentary inscription.
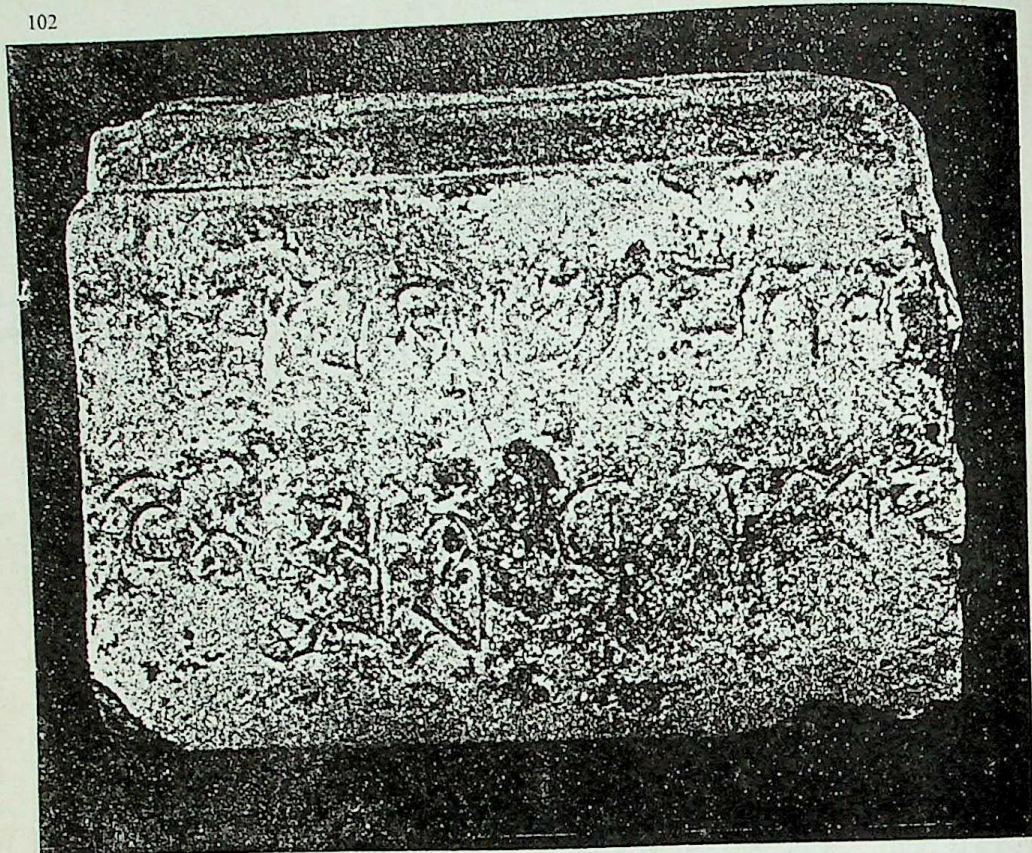
Fig. 3. Fragmentary Gupta inscription.
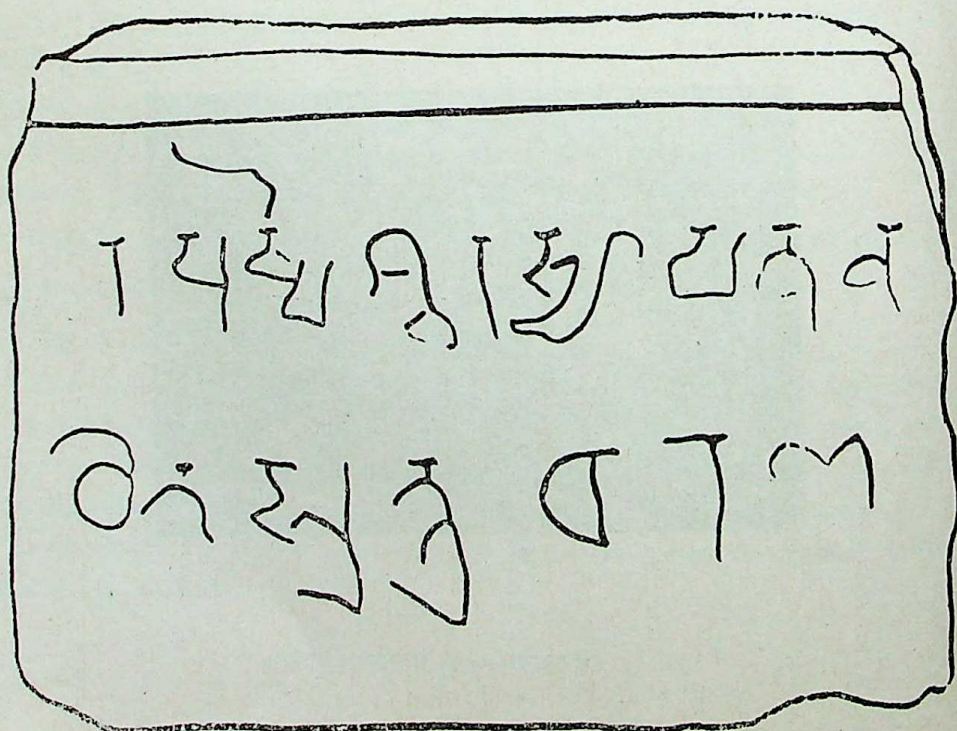
Fig. 3a. Eye-copy of the fragmentary Gupta inscription.
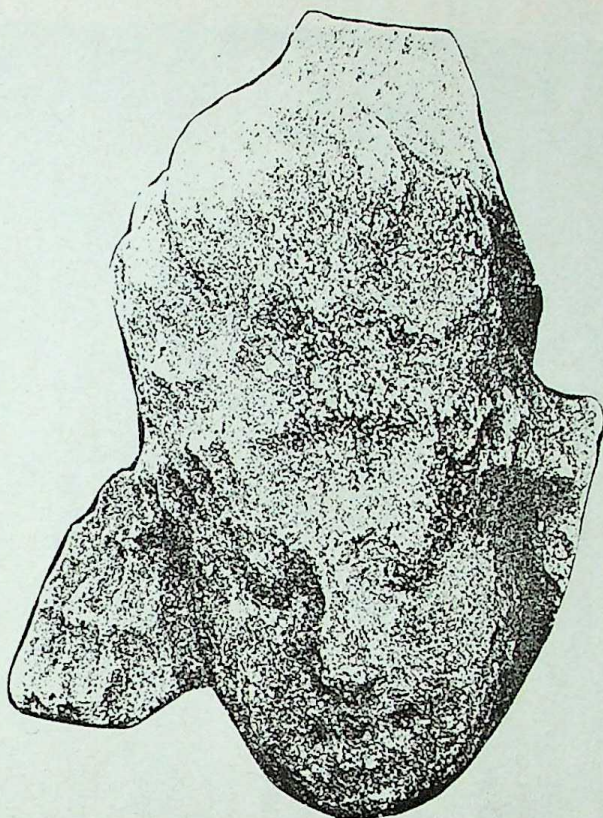
Fig. 4. Head of Viṣṇu

Fig. 5. Bust of Vaikuṇṭha

Fig. 6. Pillar with Gaṅgā

Fig. 7. Carved brick

TRADITION OF PANCHĀYATANA PŪJĀ

Amar Singh*

Panchāyatana-pūjā is a kind of worship in which five principal deities Śiva, Śakti, Vishṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇapati representing Śaiva, Śākta, Vaishṇava, Saura and Gāṇapatya cults are the objects of veneration. In such a worship all the five gods are considered respectable but a favourite deity is given the central position and other four deities are placed around him.

Panchāyatana-pūjā is popular through out India in various forms and there are a number of temples and images belonging to different periods scattered all over the country. But it is worth noticing that no traditional *vāstu* or *śilpa* text contains descriptions of *Panchāyatana* temple or *Pratimā-lakshaṇa* of such composite icons. However, in *Tantrasāra* it is said that in *Panchāyatana dīkshā* five deities viz. Śakti, Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa are worshipped enshrining at five places on a *yantra*. If a devotee is to concentrate mainly on Śakti then she should be enshrined in the centre, while Vishṇu on īśāna-koṇa, Śiva on agni-koṇa, Gaṇeśa on nirṛiti-koṇa and Sūrya on *vāyavya-koṇa*. If Vishṇu is to be worshipped in the centre then Śiva should be placed on īśāna; Gaṇeśa on āgneya; Sūrya on nirṛiti and Ambikā on *vāyavya*. If Śiva is in the centre then Vishṇu should be on the īśāna; Sūrya on *āgneya*; Gaṇeśa on nirṛiti and Pārvatī on vāyavya; if Sūrya is in the centre then Śiva should be on īśāna; Gaṇeśa on *āgneya*; Sūrya on nairiti and Pārvatī should be on the *vāyavya-koṇa*.[1]

This system of placement of deities is also given in Gaṇeśavimarśinītantra, *Rāmārchanachandrikā* and *Gautamīyatantra*. According to these Tantras, any change in the position of deities in a given system may cause sadness, grief and fear.[2]

Thus in a *Panchāyatana-pūjā* central shrine housing the principal deity is surrounded by four other smaller shrines on the four corners of the quardrangle containing the images of four other cult deities.

Though Śankarāchārya (c.788-820 A.D.) who brought all the six religious sects *i.e.*, Śaiva, Śākta, Vaishṇava, Saura, Gāṇapatya and Brahmā or Kumāra together is given the credit of introducing *Panchāyatana-pūjā*. Some scholars

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beleive that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (early eighth century A.D.) initiated this form of worship, while others say that it had already become popular during the seventh century A.D. when *Atharvaśirasa Upanishad* devoted to all the five deities of *Panchāyatana-pūjā* was compiled.[3]

With the emergence of bhakti in the post Upanishadic period, a number of religious sects like Vaishṇava Śaiva, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya and Brahmā centering round the worship of individual gods-Vishṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Brahmā emerged. These sects were also having rival tendencies among themselves. But the followers of Śrutis (Vedas) and Smṛitis called as Smārta had liberal approach. They also made an organised effort to check the distintegrating tendencies of the numerous sects and tried to put various deities representing different cults at one platform.[4]

During the pre and early centuries of Christian era, the tendency of reconciliation and rapproachment between various sects increased which is occasionally reflected in syncretic icons of Ardhanārīśvara (syncretic form of Śiva and Śakti); Hari-Hara (syncretic form of Śiva and Vishṇu); Hari-Hara Pitāmaha (syncretic form of Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā); Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha (syncretic form of Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and Sūrya) etc.[5]

The other form of worship illustrating various Brahmanical sects at one place is a monolithic votive shrine in which principal cult deities are normally carved on the four sides of the *jaṅghā*-walls. Many such monolithic miniature shrines of medieval period are reported from different parts of India.[6] In one example datable to c.9th c. A.D. housed in the Sarnath Museum, Gaṇeśa. Umā-Maheśvara, Sūrya and Vishṇu are shown on the four *jaṅgh¯a*-walls of the shrine.[7] A number of similar miniature shrines are preserved in Bharatakalabhavan (B.H.U.), Sanskrit University Museum and other places at Varanasi.[8] A few examples are also housed in the Allahabad Museum and in the town hall of Fatehpur.[9]

Purāṇic references also verify this tradition. Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa* prescribes the worship of all the four gods namely Brahmā, Sūrya, Vishṇu and Śiva without regarding them as non-different (*abheda*).[10] The *Skanda Purāṇa* states that Sun god has divided himself into five forms viz. Vishṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya.[11] And the *Kūrma Purāṇa* ordains that women should worship Umā, Vishṇu, Mahādeva and the Sun.[12]

One example of a monolithic square pillar belonging to c.9th century A.D. is reported from Siron Khurd in Bundelkhand where Umā-Maheśvara, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya are shown on the four cardinal sides.[13] According

to J.N.Banerjea, the depiction of Panchadevas *viz.* Śiva, Śakti, Vishṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa on the four walls of these miniature shrines symbolises the mode of the *Panchāyatana-pūjā*.[14]

The worship of five deities at one place represented by *Panchāyatana* Śivalingas was also popular. We have a unique type of Sahasra-liṅga of 10th century A.D. discovered at Chandpur, district Jhansi, depicting Brahmā on a swan; dancing figure of Gaṇeśa; Sūrya holding lotus in both the hands along with Bhūdevī Mahāśvetā and two armed Pārvatī holding Kamaṇḍalu in left hand, while the right is held in *varada* pose, on each face of the middle octagonal portion.[15]

Various such examples are also reported from central India and other parts of the country. A *Panchāyatana* Śiva-liṅga from Gyaraspur (Vidisha, M.P) housed in the Gwalior Museum represents Pārvatī, Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu on the four of its faces, while in other similar icon from Badon (Vidisha, M.P.) images of Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and Sūrya are carved.[16] In another example from Kanauj Śiva, Brahmā Sūrya and Indra are represented on four faces of Śiva-liṅga.[17] The linga from Jageshwar (Almora, U.P.) shows Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī on each face.[18] Mathura Museum also has a similar composite image on a Śiva-liṅga.[19] A *Panchāyatana* Śiva-liṅga originally from Bihar and now housed in the Indian Museum, Kolkata represents the four cult deities-Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya on the four sides of the central Śiva-liṅga.[20]

All these Śivaliṅgas shows different divinities representing various cults, and there is no set pattern in it. Moreover, all these lingas illustrate four cult deities on the four sides of a Śiva-liṅga. The composition of the grouping of the images of deities varied according to place and time, and any one god was either added or dropped. For instance, at one place Kārttikeya or Brahmā was included instead of Gaṇapati and at the other place Sūrya was dropped giving position to Brahmā. According to J.N.Banerjea all of them when taken together symbolise the five Brahmanical cults representing *Panchāyatana* Śivaliṅgas of Śaiva tradition belonging to the order of the Smārtas.[21]

Frederick Asher is right in his observation that these Śiva lingas do not represent the syncretic *Panchāyatana-pūjā* as suggested by Banerjea. According to him the images of the four deities appear to emerge from the linga, as if generated by it. He further says that such iconic forms are the product of the Pāśupata devotees.[22]

The other mode of worship of *Panchāyatana-pūjā* is represented by the so-called *Smārta-lingas* or *Panchalingas* of medieval period which were also fairly popular in central India. These are generally shown in a group of five semi-spheres, four arranged diagonally in the centre of a rectangular or square *gaurī-paṭṭa* provided with a *praṇālī* and fifth carved above them forming a pyramidal shape. Various such examples are reported from Mathura, Saidpur and Siron Khurd in district Lalitpur and from Khajuraho in district Chhatarpur.[23]

According to Krishna Kumar, all these lingas represent the cult objects of the Smārtas illustrate a *Panchāyatana-pūjā* of the Śaiva tradition symbolising Gaṇapati to the south-east, Sūrya to the south-west, Vishṇu to the north-west and Śakti to the north-east, while the central spheroid which is carved above, represents Śiva, the supreme God.[24] The basis of his opinion is the following remark of Monier Williams: "Five stones or symbols believed to be permeated by the essences of the five chief deities are the black stone representing Vishṇu; white stone representing Śiva;the red stone representing Gaṇeśa; the small piece of metallic ore representing the wife of Śiva; and the piece of crystal representing the Sun. All the five symbols are placed on a round open metal dish called *Panchāyatana*, and are arranged in five different methods, according to the preference given to any one of the five deities at the time of worship."[25]

But as we have a strong tradition of Panchamukhī Śivalingas the cluster of these five puncha-lingas most probably symbolises five manifestations of Śiva viz. Īśāna, Tatpurusha, Aghora, Sadyojāta and Vāmadeva, which represent the sky and the four directions respectively.

The remains of *Panchāyatana* type of temple at Deogarh (District Lalitpur, U.P.) show that the *Panchāyatana-pūjā* was popular during the Gupta period, long before the advent of Śankarāchārya. The Gupta temple at Deogarh (c.6th century) is the earliest known example of *Panchāyatana* worship which had a subsidiary shrine projecting from each corner of the platform. Though the main temple belongs to Vaishṇava cult, we cannot be certain about other deities represented on four smaller shrines on four corners of the *Jagatī* as remains of these subsidiary shrines do not exist today.[26]

Another 9th century temple known as Jarai Math situated about 19 km. east of Jhansi at Barwasagar originally seems to have been a *Panchāyatana*. But now only the main shrine is extant while the subsidiary shrines are

ruined leaving some marks of their existence on the north-west and south-west corners. On the basis of the image of sixteen handed goddess at the *lalāṭabimba* and some other features it appears almost certain that the main temple was dedicated to Śākta cult. But it is difficult to identify the cult deities of other corner shrines. At present an image of Mahishāsuramardinī is installed in the south-west sub-shrine, while the other on the north-west has no image.[27]

The Lakshamaṇa temple (930-950 A.D.) at Khajuraho dedicated to the Vaikuṇṭha form of Vishṇu is the best preserved example of the *Panchāyatana* variety in the Bundelkhand region which has four subsidiary shrines at the four corners of the *Jagatī*. All the shrines have been oriented in such a way as to face the visitor, when he circumambulates the main temple. The shrines of the south-west and north-west corners face east, while those of the north-west and south-east corners face each other in the north and south directions respectively. As there are no cult images present in the *garbhagṛiha* of corner shrines, we cannot be sure as to which cults these subshrines were dedicated. However, an inportant clue to the cults represented on the corner shrines is the figure of four armed Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa at the *lalāṭabimba* of the south-eastern shrine and north-western shrine. As it was a tradition to carve image of cult deity on *lalāṭabimba*, we may suggest that the corner shrines were also dedicated to Vaishṇava cult.[28]

Another temple at Khajuraho known as Viśvanātha enshrining a Śiva-linga in the *garbhagṛiha* is also of the *Panchāyatana* type, although only two of the four subsidiary shrines are now extant in the north-east and south-west corners.[29]

Thus, the tradition of *Panchāyatana* is traceable from the Gupta period, and it became popular in later times and is continued all through medieval period to modern age in central India as well as in other parts of India. The other examples of *Panchāyatana* temples are the Śiva Temple at Nibiakhera (dist. Kanpur, U.P.), the Gadarmal temple at Badoh (dist. Vidisha, M.P.) and the rock cut temple of Dharmanatha at Dhamnar (dist. Mandasaur, M.P.) datable to the late 9th century A.D. These temples have seven subsidiary shrines, four on the four corners and three facing the three bhadras of the temples, in varying states of preservation.[30] Besides, Hari-Hara temple at Osian (Rajasthan), Brahmesvara and Chitresvara Temples at Bhuvaneshwar (Orissa) and Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam (Andhra Pradesh) belonging to early medieval and medieval periods are some other remarkable illustrations

of *Panchāyatana* temples.[31] It is difficult to decide whether the order of deities enshrined in these temples and their corner shrines was strictly the same as mentioned in the above tantric texts or some other mode of worship was followed. In a few cases it is quite possible that some other forms of the principal deity might have been represented on the four corner shrines as represented in Panchamukhī Śiva liṅgas and some temples might have shown cult deities as the word *Panchāyatana* denotes abode of five gods, which is also illustrated by such chaturmukha lingas showing four cult deities Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya on four sides of the central emblem.

The remains of *Panchāyatana* type of temple at Deogarh give the idea that the *Panchāyatana-pūjā* was popular during the Gupta period, long before the advent of Śankarāchārya. It appears that there were two main traditions of *Panchāyatana-pūjā*: i. five main gods representing their cults giving central place to any one favourite deity were worshipped; ii. the cult deity was installed in the main *garbhagṛiha* and the four corners were represented by various aspects of the same god. Both the traditions are mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa* which provides information about *Panchāyatana* temple of Vāsudeva (Vishṇu) where on the corner shrines there should be installed the images of Vāmana, Nṛihari (Nṛisimha), Aśvaśirsha (Hayagrīva) and Śukara (Varāha) incarnations in the south-east (āgneya), south-west (nairṛita) north-west (Vāyavya) and north-east (īśāna) directions respectively or Nārāyaṇa in the centre, Ambikā in the āgneya, Bhāskara (sun) in nairṛita, Brahamā in vāyavya and liṅga (Śiva) in īśāna.[32] In later times Brahmā, however, was deleted in Smārta tradition and only Śiva, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Śakti and Gaṇapati were approved for worshiping. *Vishṇudharamottra Purāṇa* also suggests a Vishṇu *Panchāyatana* while giving details of *Sarvatobhadra* temple, with four aspects of Vishṇu in the main *garbhagṛiha* and four of his incarnations occupying the small shrines in the corners of the *jagatī*.[33]

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THE MOTIF OF FABULOUS CREATURES IN MATHURA ART

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The 'fabulous creatures' are imaginary creations in varied forms. Generally the hybrid compositions of different species present a host of novel experiments. They may be the combined forms of human being and animal or bird. The study of these representations is also carried out under the caption of 'mythical animals.'

The motif of fabulous animals has remote antiquity in Indian art. They find place in the art of Harappan culture, though the examples are not numerous.[1] Interestingly, the motif is conspicuous by its absence in the Mauryan period. A bracket representing winged lion was discovered from Kumrāhār, a site of Mauryan age representing Pāṭaliputra.[2] The couchant lion having a furious look has been treated in a conventional manner. The wings are artistically decorated with linear design. Apparently it is a part of some structure. Since the physiognomy of this figure is not akin to other lion figures of Mauryan period, the sculpture may belong to post-Mauryan times. Similarly a rim of an architrave from Kaushambi shows numerous fabulous beasts bearing so called Mauryan polish. This is definitely a representation of modern times. After Harappan culture, the mythical animals appear in the Śunga art for the first time and after this, such representations are met with through different facets of Indian art, regularly. At Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Sanchi and other places a number of fantastic animals are found with variety and fervour. The Mathura artists also invented and experimented a large nmber of fanciful fabulous creatures.

It has been a debatable question whether these motifs are inspired by Indian literature, or their appearance in Indian art has something to do with foreign influence. The scholars are divided on this point. Scholars like Sir John Marshall, V. A. Smith, Alfred Foucher, believe that these are alien features and migrated from west. On the other hand V. S. Agrawala referred to several words from ancient Indian literature which have clear connotation of hybrid creatures.[3] According to him, the germs of the idea are met with in *Ṛigveda*[4] where mythical forms are called *yātu* and six illustrative names are given. The subsequent texts including the great Epics are full of such

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terms. Because of unnatural physiognomy of these creatures, they are called *Īhāmṛiga*. Our literature mentions several such motifs and many of them were given shapes in Indian art by the indigenous artists. There is ample evidence to show that some motifs are alien and these are frequently used in Indian art. Winged lions are traditional art motifs of Iran and Mesopotamia where such lions were depicted in colossal size. Similarly, tritons, griffins and centaurs are borrowed from Greek mythology.

With this background we intend to evaluate the carvings of fabulous creatures in the Mathura School of Art which flourished from second century B.C. to seventh century A.D. For the sake of convenience, the study of these motifs is broadly divided into three groups on the basis of real animals forming part of fabulous features. These are aquatic, terrestrial and aerial animals of mythical nature.

Aquatic creatures with fabulous features

Mathura artists had a unique fascination for fish-tail. We are not sure whether they saw a mark of beauty in this motif or were inspired by its auspiciousness. But they, however, joined the fish-tail with a variety of animals.[5]

Fish-tailed crocodile was most acceptable motif in Mathura art. It is referred to in literature as *simsumārasiraḥ*.[6] Though this motif appears at many art centres like Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Kausambi etc., but in Mathura art its delineation was more frequent and bold. On a fragmentary *toraṇa* beam,[7] there is a scaly crocodile with large open mouth devouring a fish. The body is rolled round terminating in a V-shaped fish-tail. Almost similar representation of a scaly *makara* with two forepaws and twisted fish-tail is formed on another fragment of a *toraṇa* beam. Here a creeper is issuing from the open mouth undulating along the surface, the interspaces being filled with its foliage and flower. A fish-tailed crocodile surrounded by a round beaded moulding is met with in a compartment of a door jamb. The mouth of the crocodile is turned upwards. There are artistically depicted marks of scaled (*śālka*) on the body of the creature.

There is yet another grotesque animal combining the features of a crocodile, fish and an elephant. Such depictions have the face of an elephant with some characteristics of crocodile in the body and a fish-tail, more or less corresponding to '*jalebha*' as described in some literary works.[9]

A fish-tailed elephant motif was popular in early art and it is found at Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Amaravati and Mathura. A cross -bar[10] of Kankālī mound, Mathura bears a medallion on one side only containing a sea elephant. It

has very bold features including long tusks. Only tail part is entwined culminating in a pair of prongs.

The depiction of mythical lion has been a favourite subject in Indian art. Apart from Sanchi and Bodhgaya, this was popular motif in Mathura school of art. On several cross-bars, railing pillars and architraves, this mythical lion is portrayed in two ways. The first carries only fish-tail attached to the lion body and the other having wings together with a tail of fish. They all belong to Kushāṇa period. On one cross-bar[11] the fish-tailed lion is figured in an attacking mood. Here the tail is long and rolled and finally ends with leaf like prongs. The most curious composite figure of a beaked lion with fish-tail is depicted on a cross-bar of Kankālī mound. The reverse of another cross-bar contains a winged fish-tailed lion seated couchant.

There are several other animals with which tail feature appears. The composite figure of frog with fish-tail appears on a medallion[12] of a cross-bar from Mathura. The examples are wolf with fish-tail, deer with fish-tail, cat with fish-tail, duck and swan with fish-tail and so forth.[13]

The motif of triton borrowed from Greek mythology was also freely used by early Indian sculptors. Like other art centres Mathura too has several variations. Some scholars, however, take them the representations of grotesque Yaksas with fish-tail. The best example of this mythical aquatic being is a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭṭa*)[14] where it has been beautifully shown in low relief.

B. Terrestrial fabulous creatures

The terrestrial mythical animals are also represented in Mathura school of art. Their number is larger than aquatic and aerial mythical creatures. The main types portrayed in Mathura stone are beaked lion, lion with elephant face, dog-faced lion, horse with human-body, human faced bull, mermaid, animal headed human figures etc. A few examples are cited here.

On one of the cross-bars[15] from Kankālī mound is found a couching lion with beak-shaped face. Another piece[16] from the same place has a beaked lion with a long tail twisted back along his body. Both belong to Kushāṇa period.

A lion figure[17] with human face occurs on the front face of a cross-bar found from Kankālī mound. This motif can also be seen at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Kaushambi. A cross-bar medallion (first century B.C.) shows a curious creature looking as lion-faced hippopotamus. In another sculpture, representation of a human headed frog[19] is very interesting. Animal

headed Varāha, Hayagrīva, Nṛisimha, Gaṇeśa, Naigames etc. besides some attendants in hybrid character were also shown in Mathura art. A unique huge sculpture[20] bears four-faced Yaksha together with a boar headed male figure and hybrid lion.

Aerial mythical animals (*vyomachārin*)

Under this category fall those creatures which are provided with wings attached to their bodies or monsters having bird-like characteristics. Countless such examples are found in early Indian art. The concept and forms are also well known to the Mathura craftsmen. They presented a variety of animals and composite figures with fabulous features.

This motif is prominently carved on the capital of Indopersepolitan pillars in Mathura art. The placing might have been chosen by the artists to highlight their aerial habitat. They are generally shown seated back to back in couchant position. A cross-bar[21] of red sandstone bearing a medallion on one side only contains a winged lion couchant. There are some more cross-bars[22] depicting the winged lion in their medallions. A fragment[23] from one end of a *toraṇa* beam bears a winged lion with the tail of fish, the latter being curled up so as to fill the circular space at the end. On some tablets of homage (*āyāgapaṭṭa*), pillars are shown surmounted by winged lion.

Only a few examples of winged and horned lions are found in early Indian art. At Mathura, a pillar[24] from Kankālī mound assigned to first century A.D. is crowned with a pair of lions having decorated wings and horns with curly ends, which look like a ram instead of a stag as found in Sanchi *stūpa*.

Composite figures with human face and lion's body have been noticed in different art centres. They are referred to as *naravyāla* in Indian literature.[25] Sometimes human bust is shown attached to a lion body having wings also. A mutilated *āyāgapaṭṭa*[26] from Mathura illustrated this composite figure in a fantastic manner. The outer rim of this tablet contains these mythical figures having alternately male and female busts with a lion body. Their tails are decorated with creeper leaves and wings treated in a conventional way.

The motif of griffin is found in the art of Sanchi[27] and Mathura.[28] The legends relating to griffins are popular in Greek mythology where they are regarded as guardians of a gold treasure.[29] They have a lion body, eagle's or parrot's beak and wings. This composite animal is known as *Śuka-Vyāla* in Indian literature.[30] There are some beautiful examples of griffins carved

on the architectural members in Mathura art. A pillar[31] capital from Kankālī mound datable to first century A.D.bears four winged griffins couchant back to back of which the two on the front side have parrot like curved faces.

A solitary example[32] of a winged monster with the front part of a lion and tail of a cock is noticed in a medallion of a cross-bar which comes from the Jaina *stūpa* at Kankālī mound. The depictions of winged horses and winged goats are found in the carvings of Mathura art.

The fabulous creatures with the body of a bird joined to human bust are categorised as *suparṇas*. They are also known as kinnaras and their female counterparts as kinnaris. The portrayal of *suparṇas* appears to be a favourite subject of early Indian sculptors and their numerous representations are met with in the reliefs of Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Amaravati and other art centres.

The Mathura artists adopted the motif of *suparṇas* with a slight change in characteristics. Whereas the Sanchi figures are more akin to the Greak Harpies, those on Mathura slabs are better Indianised and treated in a conventional manner like other winged figures. The best illustrated example[33] can be seen on fragmentary slabs discovered at Kankālī mound. The feathers of *suparṇas* are decorated with leafy designs.

Garuḍa is essentially a mythical bird which was bestowed divinity and conceived in various forms. A number of legends regarding Garuḍa are enumerated in Indian mythology.[34] It is supposed to be mighty flying creature with enormous strength and speed. It has been represented in world art in various forms.

Sculptors had special fascination for carving the figures of Garuḍa in varied forms and contexts.[35] Though fully developed anthropomorphic form was not known to early sculptors of Mathura, certain human features were assimilated in some Garuḍa figures. The Garuḍa was also used as a decorative motif.[36]

A part of a tympanum[37] excavated from Sonkh (Mathura) shows an imposing figure of Garuḍa combating with three hooded Nāga. The mythical bird has a crest on the forehead and expanded wings. This representation of Kushāṇa period has a close resemblance with figure on the balustrade of *stūpa* no.2 at Sanchi. The scene of fierce fight between Garuḍa and Nāga is depicted on some architectural members.[38] Interestingly the motif is indiscriminately used by all three faiths *viz*. Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina. Garuḍa was accepted as a mount of Vishṇu in the Gupta period and onwards.

It appears that these representations were not the outcome of the imagination of sculptors only, but there was a long tradition of widespread beliefs of masses. The conception of varied deformities was deeply rooted in the minds of people and ancient Indian literature contains its numerous references. Mathura art is rich in such "Grotesque" figures.

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卐 THE SVASTIKA AND MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT ITS 卍 LEFT-HANDED FORM

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SVASTIKA has been a wonderful auspicious symbol in human life. It is *par excellence* not only in India but in many countries of the world. Its existence has been found in Assyria, Anatolia, Bactria, Persia, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Sicily, Germany, France, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Central Asia, Tibet, China, Japan, Combodia, Australia, Mexico and a few parts of Africa.

It is the weapon of Thor, the war god of Sweden and Norway.[1] It is found in various forms on the objects of utility of Denmark belonging to the Bronze Age (Figs. 1-11, 13).[2] It was the national emblem decorating the flags, uniforms and other royal paraphernalia during the days of Nazis of Germany.[3] The button seals with *svastika* motif have been found from Tepe Giyan and Susa (Figs. 14-15).[4] A double-headed bird-toy from Susa (Fig. 16)[5] and the figure of the god Apollo on a pot, now in Viana[6] have the *svastika* mark on their bodies. It is present on some figures excavated from Cyprus. The pot-sherds bearing *svastika* symbol are known from Susa and Greece.[7] In Lithuania, it symbolises the celestial fire and it is called 'Ugnis' (Sansk. *Agni*, Fig. 12).[8] It may be alluded to in the hieroglyphics of the famous Boghaz koy inscriptions discovered in 1905 by a German Professor Hugo Winkler (Fig. 20).[9] The *svastika* is respectfully placed over the houses and temples of the Buddhist Lamas in Tibet as well as the Churches of the Christians.[10] In China it is a very old symbol known as Tao-tsse.[11] The border of a carpet purchased by Mrs. Murray Aynsley in 1876 from a caravan of Yarkand (Central Asia) was decorated with the *svastika* motifs (Fig. 19).[12] The symbol is clearly reflected in the paintings of the Bushongo tribe of Africa.[13] In Australia and New Zealand, the *svastika* is worshipped as an auspicious symbol. It is regarded as 'Manjī' in Japan.[14]

In India too, *svastika* has an age-old tradition which still continues uninterrupted. This auspicious symbol is represented on the Harappan seals and sealings (Figs. 21-27),[15] in rock-paintings (Figs. 28-39),[16] on some gold pieces discovered from the Buddhist stūpa at Piprahwa in U.P. together with Buddha's relic pot (Figs. 47-48),[17] in Aśoka's Jaugada Rock Edict (Fig.

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42)[18] and in many epigraphs found throughout the coutnry (Figs. 43-46),[19] on coins (Figs. 49-50),[20] Jaina *āyāgapaṭas* (Figs. 51-53),[21] pedestals of *Tīrthaṁkara* images (Figs. 62-63),[22] *Buddhapadas* (Figs. 55-57),[23] Buddhist parasols (Figs. 64-66),[24] pot-sherds (Figs. 58-59),[25] bas-reliefs (Fig.54),[26] ornaments (Figs.41),[27] utensils (Figs. 61),[28] terracottas (Fig. 60),[29] lintels of temples and caves (Fig. 40),[30] etc. Even Indian Muslims were no exception to it. They have also used the *svastika* motifs in their secular as well as religious buildings.[31]

Originally, the motif of *svastika* symbolised the sun, the four diretions he enlightens, his movement (*gati* or *pragati*) or journey from the east to the west. The Sun being the source of life, is benevolent, auspicious and divine. Accordingly, all these aspects were also associated with the *svastika* and it was regarded as the symbol of good luck, plenty and fortune. With the passage of time the *svastika* was also regarded as the symbol of Lakshmi, Sarasvatī, Gaṇapati and Brahmā; and also of the four *Vedas*. It also symbolised the feeling of safety and well being. With this universal and auspicious appeal, the *svastika* may also be regarded as the symbol of unity of all kinds, racial, religious, social or even geographical.

For its vast symbolism pregnant with auspiciousness, the *svastika* became very popular in every stratum of our society. Its popularity is reflected in our ancient literature right from the Vedic *Saṁhitās* to the epics, *Purāṇas* and various *śilpa* treatises. Similarly, it has been represented in Indian sculpture, architecture, terracotta, pottery, coinage, painting, ivory, etc. Every religious or social function, may it be a *pūjā*, a child birth or a marriage, starts with *svasti-vācana*, a sort of invoking *svasti*, the welfare, which in its symbolic form is *svastika*. The symbol of *svastika* is made on the belly of the *kalaśa* placed on an *āsana* for the purpose of worship of Gaṇapati. No *alpanā* or *chowk* is complete without the figure of *svastika*. Its design is printed or painted on the flanking pillars of a door-jamb or on the top of the main entrance gate of the house. Being a symbol of Lakshmi, *svastika* is made on the ledger-books and shops of traders and it is worshipped by them, particularly on the occasion of Dīpāvalī.

Originally, the *svastika* was made of two lines kept one upon the other at the right angle forming a cross. It was like the Brāhmī letter '*ka*' (+). Well known as the Cross of the Christ, this form of the *abāhu* or armless *svastika* is found on some seals and sealings of the Harappan culture, early cast copper coins of Kaushambi and Ujjayini and in the cave-paintings of Madhya Pradesh. Later on, arms were added at the end of all the four terminals and then the symbol became *sabāhu* or armed *svastika*. These arms were

kept clockwise or anti-clockwise i.e., the *svastika* was made either *dakshiṇāvarta* (right-handed) or *vāmāvarta* (left-handed).

Thus broadly speaking, the symbol of *svastika* is found in three types-

(i) *Abāhu* or the armless *svastika* in the form of a cross (+)

(ii) *Dakshiṇāvarta sabāhu* or the right handed *svastika* (卐)

(iii) *Vāmāvarta sabāhu* or the left-handed *svastika* (卍)

II

Left handed *svastika* has created many misconceptions among scholars as well as common people. Some of them are :

1. The right-handed *svastika* is Indian and the left-handed is alien.
2. The right-handed *svastika* is auspicious and creative; the left-handed is inauspicious and destructive.
3. Making of the right-handed and the left-handed *svastika* is deliberate and not coincidental.
4. The right-handed and left-handed *svastikas*, being opposites to each other, were never made together.

1. The Right-handed *svastika* is Indian & the Left-handed is alien.

Aynsley[32] believes that Indian *svastika* is right-handed while that of Christians in Europe is left-handed. Paripurnanand Verma is also of the same opinion.[33] But the fact is quite different. Amongst many examples of the *svastika* motif found on the tools and objects discovered from Denmark, Sweden and Norway belonging to the Bronze Age, are either armless or right-handed (Figs. 1-11). A beautiful oval-shaped silver brooch belonging to the later Bronze age, is decorated with angular lines and circles. In the centre of this brooch there is a right-handed *svastika* (Fig. 13). The left-handed *svastika* is conspicuous by its absence. In later ages too it is rarely found.

Even the Western Asian countries like Assyria, Anatolia, Persia, Bactria, etc. have yielded the symbol of the right-handed *svastika* in large number against a few examples of the left-handed ones. Whereas some of the hieroglyphs of the Boghaz koy inscriptions of c.2000 B.C., irrespective of their meaning, appear in clear shape of *śrīvatsa*, *bāṇa* (arrow) and *śūla* (spear);a asymbol of right-handed *svastika* may also be alluded to among them in the central position of tablet (Fig. 20). From the excavations at Susa, the *svastika* appeared in the lowest strata. A double-headed eagle (toy?) belonging to

Hittites may probably belong to an earlier period than that of the Boghaz koy inscriptions.[34] The eagle has on its belly a right -handed *svastika* (Fig. 16). Hence, it is very difficult to subscribe to the opinion of Mrs. Aynsley.

James Fergusson and James Burgess have made detailed study of the western Indian cave-temples and their inscrpitions at Kūḍā, Kārle, Śailwāḷi, Junnār, etc. These inscriptions belonging to the 2nd-1st century B.C. contain *svastika* symbol at the beginning and end, and also in different shapes (卐 卍 卐 卐) both right-handed and left handed.[35] This disproves the theory that 'the Christian *svastikas* point to the left or westwards; whereas the Indian including Buddhist and Jaina *svastikas*, point to the right or eastwards.[36]

From the very beginning of the emergence of the armed *svastika* in India, it was both right-handed and left-handed. Besides the right-handed, left-handed *svastika* is also found on the Harappan seals and sealings (Figs. 21, 25, 27), in prehistoric rock-paintings from Barkhera, Distt. Raisen in Madhya Pradesh (Figs. 31, 32, 35), Aśoka's Jaugaḍa Rock Edict (Fig. 42), Karṇa cave-inscription of the Mauryan period in the Barabar hills of Bihar (Fig. 43), Buddhist cave-inscription at Kūḍā and Junnār in western India (fig. 44), on one stone inscription of the Śaka Kshatrapa Śoḍāsha and another of some Śaiva shrine from Mathura (Figs. 45-46), bas-reliefs of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves near Bhuvaneshvara in Orissa (Figs. 17-18),[37] on a *toraṇa* architrave from Kaushāmbi (Fig. 54), the lintel of the cave no. 'k' at Bava Pyara Math at Junagadh (Fig. 40), Jaina *āyāgapatas* excavated from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā of Mathura (Figs. 51-53), *Buddhapadas* found from Kaushambi and Amaravati (Figs. 55-57), a terracotta *pañchāṅgula* of the 1st century B.C. from Sonkh (Mathura, Fig. 60),[38] a large bowl-like stone vessel found from a field of the village Kailvan, Distt. Patna, Bihar bearing an inscription of a king named Ārya Viśākhamitra in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century A.D. (Fig. 61), Buddhist parasols (Figs. 64-66), on the face of lions of the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* images from Mathura (Figs. 62-63) and pot-sherds from Taxila (Figs. 58-59), Ahichchhatrā, Rangpur, Hastinapur, Rairh, Arikmedu, etc. Thus the tradition of the left-handed *svastika* in India was as popular as that of the right-handed for a very very long span of time spread between the Harappan civilization and the Kushāna period. How can then left-handed *svastika* be described as a foreign emblem?

2. The Right-handed svastika is auspicious and creative & the Left-handed is inauspicious and destructive.

This miscoception cropped up after the symbol of *svastika* was associated with the movement of the sun from east to west by turning towards the

right. By the time this symbolism gained ground, the left-handed motif was discarded. It is believed that the sun with its rightwards journey bestows on us the goodluck, plenty and welfare; hence auspicious aspects were associated with the right-handed *svastika*. Since the left handed *svastika* showed opposite movement, it was regarded as inauspicious.

It is clear from a note by Rev. S. Beal who writes : "As the figure of *svastika* is found through countries reaching from Japan to England, so also the custom of turning sunways, or with the sun, is equally wide spread; and secondly, that as the *svastika* is a sign of good luck, signified by its etymology (*su+asti=svasti*), so also the practice of turning with the sun is considered a lucky or fortunous proceedings, and turning in the contrary way, especially among northern people, is dreaded as entailing a curse; the custom and the symbol, therefore we argue are co-related."[40]

Major R.C. Tembe[41] does not give any significance to the difference between the left and right-handed *svastikas*. In many Pāli inscriptions incised in the Buddhist cave-temples mentioned above, there are both types of the *svastika*. On the basis of these *svastikas* Major Tembe opines that *svastikas* have not always been made of one and the same type. These have been made in either way, but the necessary part is the cross which symbolises the sun.

MaxMüller, communicated to Schliemann in a note that "the two varieties of the symbol - 'Svastika', with arms pointing to the right; and the 'Sauvastika' with arms pointing to the left; both of which however, whatever their later meanings - are the solar symbols.[42]

However, one scholar considers "the *dakshiṇāvarta* or clock-wise *svastika* as a symbol of good-omen, well-being, generative cycle and auspiciousness; accordingly, every auspicious movement in any ceremony is clock-wise. This motion is, infact, the basis of all creation. It is very logically believed", he opines "that somehow, if the generative cycle could be reversed, the whole universe will come to an end. Therefore, the reversed form or *vāmāvarta svastika* has quite often, been taken as a symbol of ill omen." He further continues, "In Sanskrit, *vāma* also means reverse, contrary, unfavourable, wile and wicked, etc."[43] R. Ahmad also believes "The ancient *svastika* which was known in India at a very remote period, has a beneficent symbolism for protection and good fortune. It also has its reversed form in which it becomes symbol of evil significance."[44]

That the left-handed *svastika* is a symbol of ill omen, inauspiciousness and destruction has not been substantiated with any documentary or concrete

evidence by either of the two scholars. In order to support the above view point, the examples of creative nut-bolts and turbines are given which are very flimsy.[45] The bolt is tightly fixed by turning the nut rightwards. It is alright. But when the repairing is needed, the nut is required to turn leftwards. Does this leftwards turning of the nut symbolise any destruction? What will be the explanation of a lock and key? The leftwards turning of a key always locks the door and its rightwards turning opens it. The creative purpose of the lock is to keep the door tightly closed, and this is possible only when the key is moved towards the left. Is the left turning of a key creative or destructive? Similarly, in clocks or watches and sugarcane - crushers there are two wheels fixed in each-other's conical projections of fellies on their circumferance. When these tools work, one wheel moves to the right and being fixed with the fellies, the other wheel automatically moves to the left. Which of the two wheels is creative and auspicious? Moreover, if the left-handed *svastika* is inauspicious, destructive and signifying ill omen, why it has been so popular among our masses for thousand of years?

3. Making of the Right-handed and Left-handed *svastika* is deliberate and not coincidetal.

Another misconception about the left-handed *svastika* is expressed in the belief that the right-handed *svastika* symbolises the sun, the light, the male and the creation; and the left-handed *svastika*, being an opposite, symbolises the moon, the darkness, the female and the destruction. The following arguments are forwarded to justify this contention :

i. Since the sun moves rightwardly, the right-handed *svastika* symbolises it, and the left-handed *svastika*, being complimentary opposite symbolises the moon; and so they also may be taken to symbolise the light and the darkness respectively.[46]

ii. Believing in the Chinese Taoist philosophy of 'Yin' and 'yang' meaning thereby Earth and Heaven, Darkness and Light, weakness and strength, etc., and also that Earth turns to left, and Heaven to right, P.C. Little describes similar Indian concept of *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha* and says that left has much to do with females[47] and that is why she is called *vāmā* and the wife, *vāmāngī* who sits on the left of her spouse, etc. On the basis of this philosophy, he equates the *vāmāvarta svastikas* with females and the *dakshiṇāvarta svastikas* with males. With this notion, Little opines that making of the right-handed *svastikas* was deliberate and never coincidental.[48]

iii. P.C. Little adds that some American-Indian tribes invoke the Rain-God

on moon-lit nights and the ritual is performed by drawing an elaborate *vāmāvarta svastika* on the ground or sand. So he takes the left-handed *svastika* to symbolise the woman (*vāmā*) and the moon with whose beauty the woman is compared.[49]

iv. Then he cites a *toraṇa* beam from Kaushambi now in the Allahabad Museum, representing nude Gaja-Lakshmi, the bull and a *vāmāvarta svastika*. Here Little[50] opines that the representation of the left-handed *svastika* is due to the female goddess (Fig. 54).

v. In order to throw further light on the significance of the *vāmāvarta* and *dakshiṇāvarta svastikas*, Little describes two Jaina *āyāgapatas* of Mathura preserved in the State Museum, Lucnkow (nos. SML J. 248 and J. 250, Figs. 52-53). First he describes *āyāgapata* no. J 250 which represents, according to him, "a *dhammachakra* with a prominent curved *svastika* having another straight *svastika* prominently displayed with other three auspicious symbols", and then he opines that "both these *svastikas* are in *dakshiṇāvarta* style, as its donor was a male. On the other hand", according to him, "the *āyāgapata* no. J. 248 bears a wheel in the centre in counter clock-wise motion; the donor being a female; the wife of Lavaṇa it bears a curved *vāmāvarta svastika* on its lower left corner. The appearance of this *vāmāvarta svastika* on lower left hand corner is almost like a signature."[51]

To answer this multifarious misconception we must go point by point:

i. The right-handed *svastika* is universally believed to be the symbol of the sun which also moves rightwardly. But nowhere and by no scholar the left-handed *svastika* has been considered as the symbol of the moon and the darkness, nor the moon moves leftwardly; instead, it also turns to right like the sun. If the turning is the norm, then the right-handed *svastika* should also symbolise the moon.

ii. These two forms of the *svastika* have nowhere been equated with the *Purusha* and *Prakṛiti* i.e. male and female. Yes, Indian woman is called *vāmā* but not because she is *vāmangī*. The latter term is very late in usage. Little quotes a Sanskrit dictionary[52] for the meaning of the word *vāmā*. But Sanskrit dictionaires also give the meanings of this word as *ramaṇī* and *sundarī strī* or the beautiful woman; and also explain the word - *vāmati saundaryam* i.e. radiating beauty.[53] Actually, *vāmā* is a Vedic term. In the *Ṛigveda* (V. 82.6; VIII 83.4), it conveys the meaning *sundara* or beautiful.[54] Since woman is beautiful,

she was termed in the Vedic age as *vāmā*. In subsequent times, the word *vāmā* was used as a synonym of 'left' and 'opposite'. But the Sanskrit lexicons still give both the old and the new meanings. That is why, both the terms *(vāma* and *vāmā)* contain meanings both in good and bad senses.[55]

When *abāhu* (armless) *svastika* was developed into *sabāhu* (armed) *svastika*, arms were added inadvertently towards right or left. These were not deliberately made as conceived by Little. It can be very well proved with the same evidences which he has misinterpreted in his favour.

iii. I think, neither Little nor the source he quotes are sure that the American Indian Tribe makes left-handed *svastika* deliberately. May be, they are habitual to draw *vāmāvarta svastika*. Why does Little not find any Indian evidence in this regard? In India, on every festivity or ceremonial occasion, the *alpanā* or *raṅgolī* is made usualy by the womenfolk and that contains *svastika* in particular. This *svastika* in msot of the cases is right-handed. *Karwā chauth* is a very important *vrata* observed by Indian married women. Throughout the day, they do not take any edible or drink. They keep this fast wishing long life to their husbands and they accept any intakes only after glancing the moon. On this occasion they make *alpanā* which includes the right-handed *svastika* (Figs. 67-68).

iv. The fragmentary *toraṇa* beam from Kaushambi (Fig. 54), describes Little, represents stylized *vāmāvarta svastika* due to the presence of Gaja-Lakshmi who is a female. Agreed. But why similar *vāmāvarta svastika* was carved on a *Buddhapada*, also from Kaushambi and belonging to the same period, when it was established by a monk named Phagala. (Fig. 55)? A two-line inscription in Brāhmī characters of the first century B.C. between the Buddhapada and the lower border speaks "Bhikshu Phagala, the disciple of venerable Dhara (set up) this stone slab for the worship of all the Buddhas, at Ghoshitārāma, the abode of the Buddha."[56]

v. The description of the Jaina *āyāgapaṭas* as given by Little is also not correct.

There is no *dharma-chakra* at all in the middle on the *āyāgapaṭa* no. J 250 (see Fig. 53). Instead, there is a tiny figure of a Jina encircled by four *nandyāvarta* symbols. The outer circle represents a huge and round *dakshiṇāvarta svastika* and another small *dakshiṇāvarta* with straight arms within a bend of the former. There is a third *svastika* which has, however,

been missed by Little. Little either does not see or omits to describe it. Actually, there is another small Jina figure within the outer circle of this *āyāgapaṭa* at the bottom. Below this Jina figure there is a broad band. It has a very defaced inscription with worn out letters in its middle part. The inscription has not been properly read so far,[57] and as such we do not know who was its donor. It is, therefore, surprising that Little declares its donor as a male person. The remaining two side parts of the band represent eight auspicious symbols, four on each side. These are : 1. A defaced symbol, 2. *kalaśa*, 3. *pushpa-pātra*, 4. An inverted *nandyāvarta*, 5. *śrivatsa*, 6. *śaṅkha*, 7. *svastika* and 8.a partly defaced symbol. Now, this third symbol of the *svastika* on the band is a left-handed i.e., *vāmāvarta* (Fig. 53).

The *āyāgapaṭa* no. J. 248 represents a *dharma-chakra* in the centre and not only one but the two symbols of the *vāmāvarta svastika* on the opposite diagonal corners (Fig. 52). The donor of this slab was the wife of Lavaḍasa.[58]

Another *āyāgapaṭa*, no. J. 252 in the State Museum, Lucknow, not discussed by Little, was donated by Achalā, the wife of Bhadranandin. The upper border of this *āyāgapaṭa* represents four symbols and the lower represents eight. On both the borders there is a *svastika* and that is *dakshiṇāvarta* and not *vāmāvarta* (Fig. 51).

Two stone epigraphs from Mathura,[59] one belonging to the Śaka-Kshatrapa Soḍāsha and the other to a Śaiva shrine, in Kushana characters caused to be inscribed by male persons, have the symbol of *svastika* which is *vāmāvarta* in both the cases. (Fig. 45-46). How can then theory of male and female in association with *dakshiṇāvarta* and *vāmāvarta* respectively be explained and justified?

Morever, on Buddhist parasols which were kept over the images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas carved at Mathura in the Kushana times, have in their interior decoarations the *ashṭa-māṅgalika* motifs namely *nandyāvarta*, *śrivatsa*, *mīna-mithuna*, *kalaśa*, *śaṅkha*, *pushpa-pātra*, *vardhamāna* and *svastika*. Strangely enough, on all the three (two complete and one fragmentary) parasols the symbol of *svastika* is *vāmārarta* i.e., left-handed (Figs. 64-66). In the company of all the auspicious symbols, how this *vāmāvarta svastika* can be taken as inauspicious or belonging to females?

4. Right-handed and Left-handed *svastikas* were never made together.

After extending this unfounded hypothesis, P.C. Little was confronted with alternate rows of both the right-handed and the left-handed symbols

of the *svastika* in the fret-work of Aitemadud-Daula at Agra which he explains as purely a geometrical meander ornamentation.[60] He is absolutely incorrect in describing that Akbar had not opted *svastika* out of religious inclinations.

Akbar was a descendant of the solar dynasty and a devout worshipper of the Sun.[61] He used to salute the rising sun every morning and recited *Sūrya-Sahasranāma*, a prayer praising the thousand names of the god. That is why, almost all the main buildings of his new capital city of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra were laid facing to the east, the direction of the sunrise. And as such, his fascination to the symbol of *svastika* is quite obvious. A number of religious and secular monuments erected during the time of Akbar and Jahangir and decorated with *svastika* symbols are well known.[62]

The statement that the *dakshiṇāvarta* and *vāmāvarta svastikas* were never made together is also far away from the truth as borne out by its following evidences representing both types and covering a time span of over 2000 years.

i. On Harappan seals and sealings (Figs. 21-27).

ii. Aśoka's Jaugada Rock Edict represents three *svastika* symbols, one *dakshiṇāvarta* and two *vāmāvarta* (Fig. 42).

iii. *Āyāgapaṭa* no. J. 250, 1st century B.C., represents two *dakshiṇāvarta* and one *vāmāvarta svastika* (Fig. 53).

iv. On the face of lions in the throne of the Jaina figures of Mathura, early Kushana period, nos. J. 20 and J. 26 (Figs. 62-63).

v. On the Buddhapadas from Kaushambi, 1st century B.C., on the toes of three fingers is a *dakshiṇāvarta svastika* but on the fourth *vāmāvarta*. The corner of the lower border also represents a *vāmāvarta svastika* (Fig. 55).

vi. On the Buddhapadas from Amaravati, 2nd century A.D., the heel part has a *srivatsa* symbol in the middle and on its flanks one svastika is *dakshiṇāvarta* and the other a *vāmāvarta* (Fig. 56-57).

vii. On the upper core of a large stone vessel from the village Kailvan in the Patna district (Bihar), there is an inscription of the IInd century A.D. as also some auspicious symbols including two symbols of the *svastika*. Out of the two, one is a *dakshiṇāvarta* and the other a *vāmāvarta* (Fig. 61).

viii. In Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves, 1st century B.C., we may see both types of *svastika* (Fig. 17-18).

ix. In the rock-paintings of Madhya Pradesh, both types are there (Figs. 28-39).

x. On one copper coin from Karur (Tamilnadu) the *svastika* is *dakshiṇāvarta* and on the other *vāmāvarta* (Figs. 49-50).

When such glaring archaeological evidences showing the representation of both *dakshiṇāvarta* and *vāmāvarta svastika* symbols together are before us, how can we accept that these two types of the *svastika* were opposite to each-other and were never represented together?

Each and every scholar of the world including India believes that the *svastika* symbolises the sun. Originally, it was in the form of a cross *i.e.* armless or *abāhu svastika* symbolising the four cardinal directions enlightened by the solar god. Subsequently, in order to symbolise the movement of the sun, arms were added to its four terminals both ways – clock-wise *i.e.*, stretching towards the right and anti clock-wise *i.e.* moving towards the left. That is the reason we find both these examples together from the very beginning upto the Kushana period; and both these forms are associated with the feeling of equal auspiciousness. After the Kushana period, only the right-handed *svastika* was however taken to be auspicious in India probably because it rotates like the sun to which it symbolises. This makes it very clear that both the right-handed and the left-handed *svastikas* are indigenous. When the right-handed *svastika* gained ground, the practice of representing the left-handed *svastika* discontinued automatically. But unknowingly left-handed *svastika* is still made by those who are unaware of the significance of the right-handed *svastika*. They do not take these two forms as opposite to each-other; nor there is any literary or archaeological evidence describing the left-handed or *vāmāvarta svastika* as inauspicious, destructive and confined to females only. Actually, the sense of difference between the two forms of the *svastika* is the product of our fallacious mind of today and a futile attempt to justify the past with its present yardstick.

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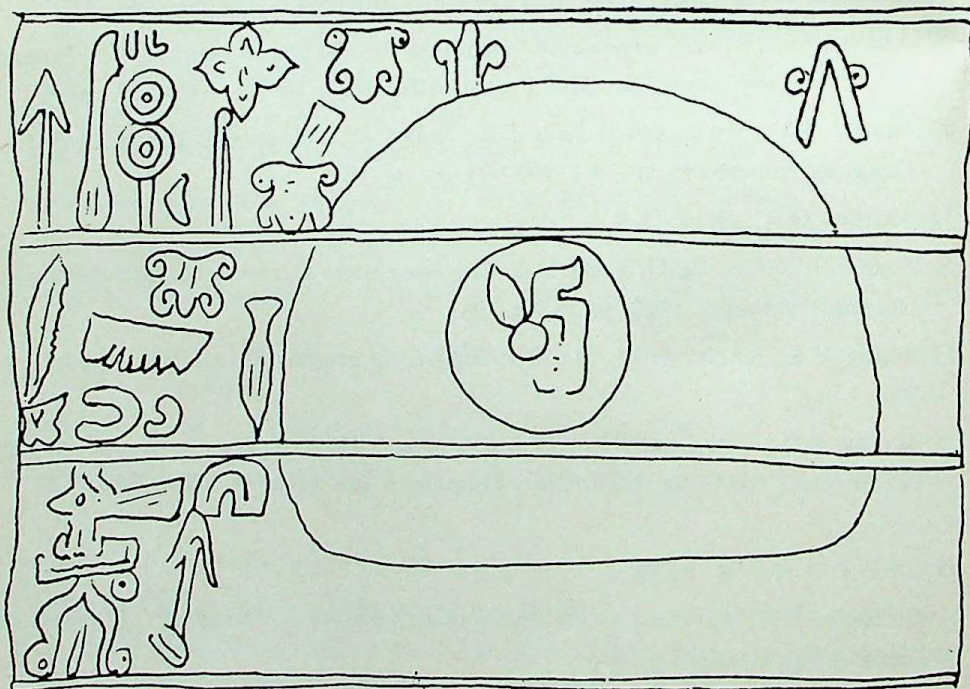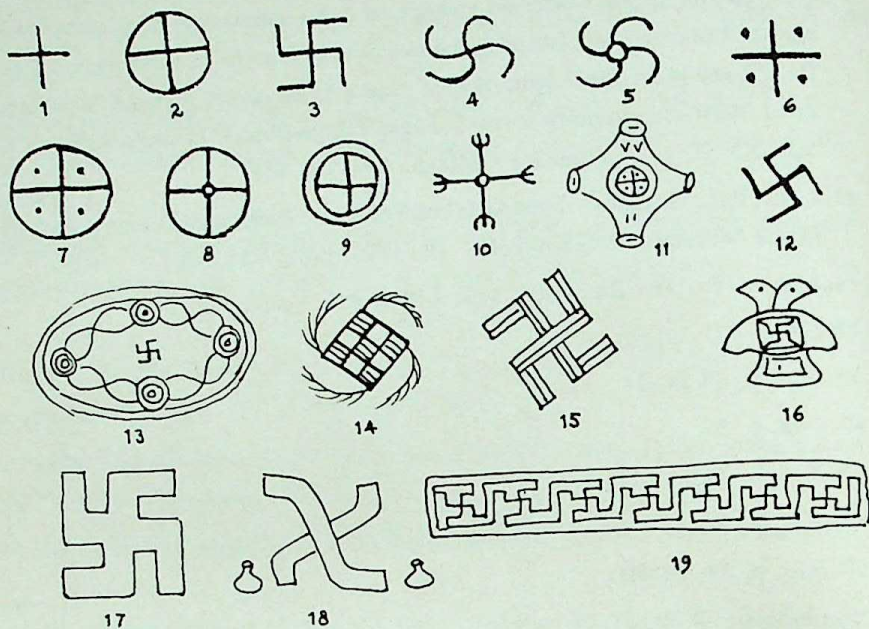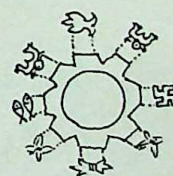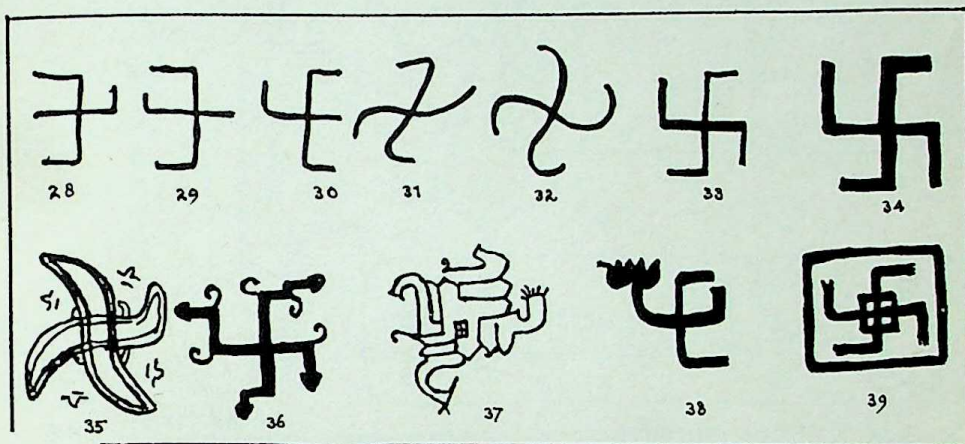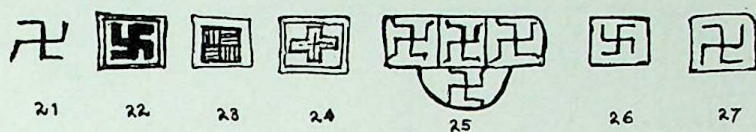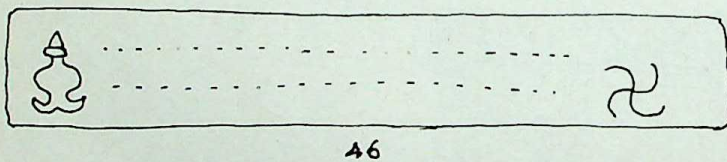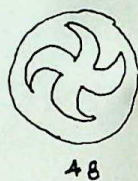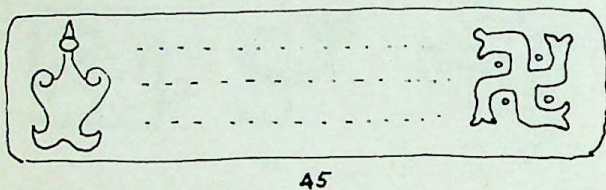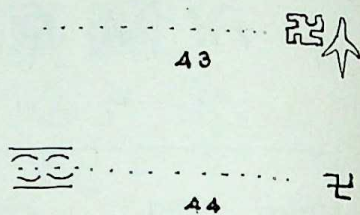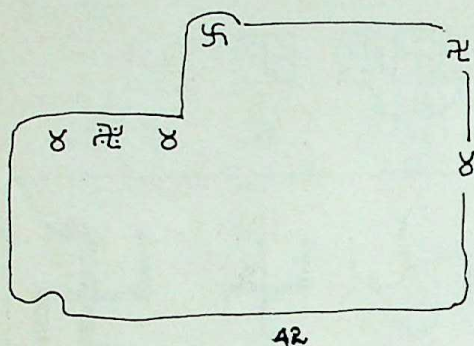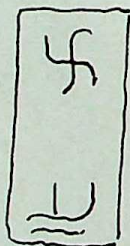
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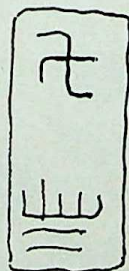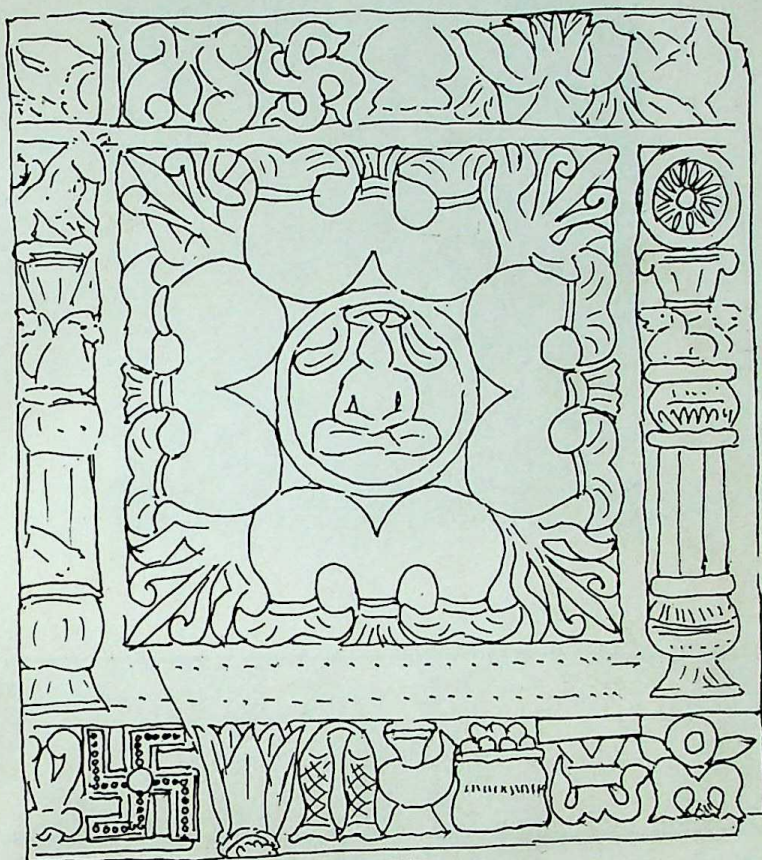
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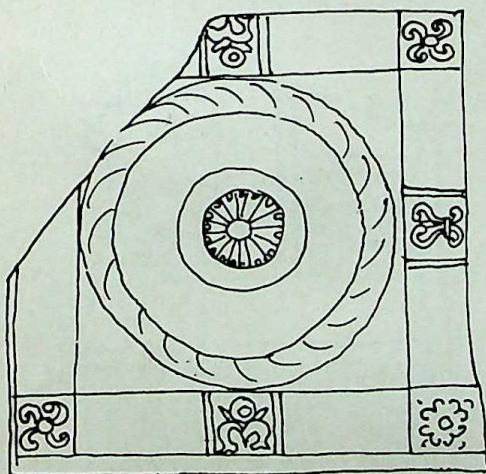
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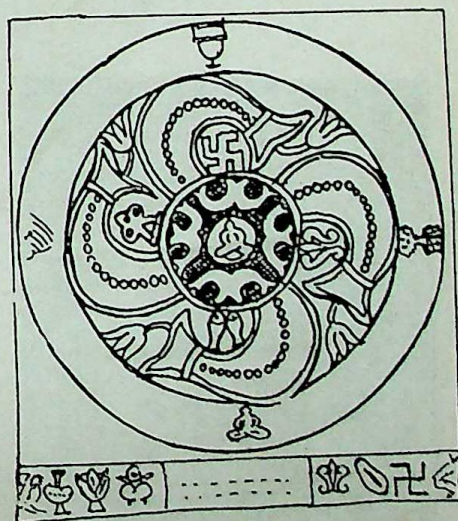
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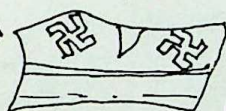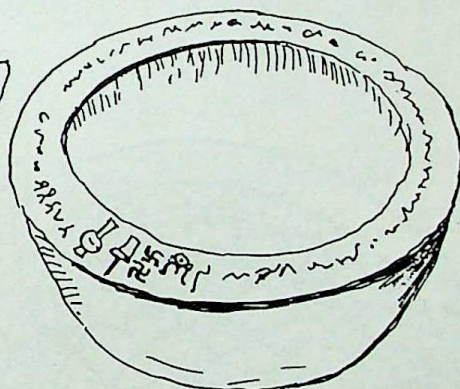
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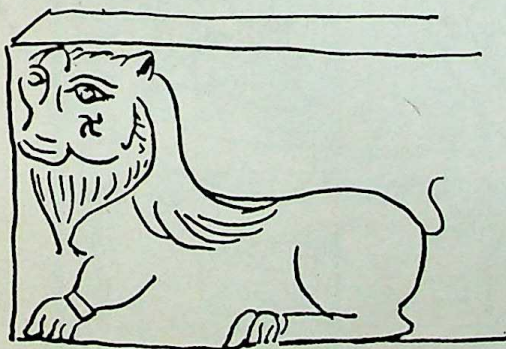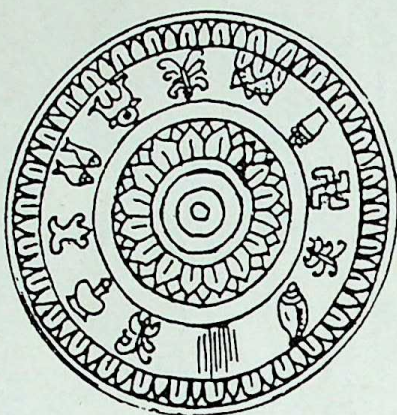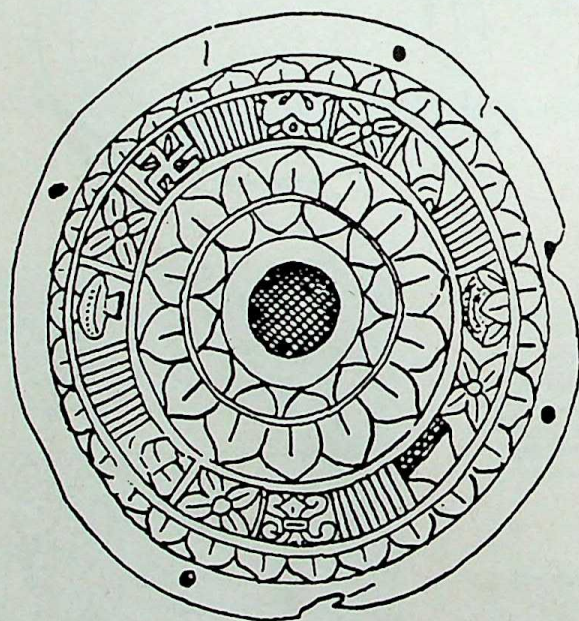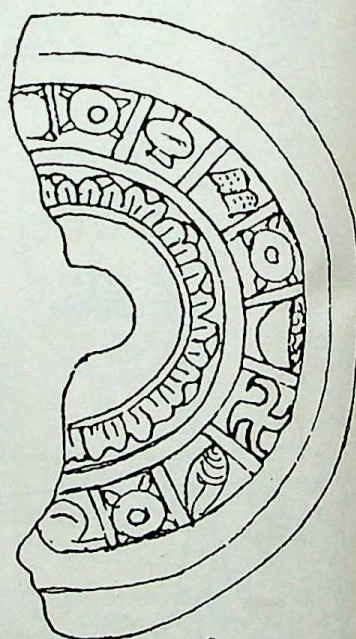
A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE VEDIC, SMĀRTA AND PURĀṆIC LITERATURE ON UNTOUCHABILITY

Bhawani Shanker Shukla*

The four *varṇas* of the Hindus were originally functional but soon became hereditary. While the *dvijas* were of Aryan origin, the fourth *varṇa* namely śūdras were non-aryans taken into the Aryan fold through the process of acculturation. In addition to this people born of *pratiloma* marriages were also later brought into the fold of śūdra *varṇa*. We must remember that the four fold *varṇas* are the part and parcel of Hindu social order and none of the castes within them is outcaste. We should also bear in mind that untouchability was not originally conceived or applied keeping only the śūdra in view. Actually, śūdras as a *varṇa* are not outcastes or untouchables.

In the ancient social organisation, no doubt, the brahmanas appropriated the lion's share in certain privileges, but there were areas where other *varṇas* had better privileges. In a society where all its members contribute in their own way to its development and well-being through division of labour, untouchability does not appear to be rational. But it, however, entered the Hindu society in later times and then soon had a cancerous growth. But has untouchability been practised only in India? How old is the history of this evil practice and what are its causes, are some of its questions which agitate the minds of scholars.

The Vedic literature which presents the earliest form and features of Hindu social organisation shows its complete unawareness of untouchability. The earliest references to certain disabilities imposed on the śūdras are found in the *Dharmasūtras* of post Vedic times which betray the beginning of untouchability. But it is worthy of mention that *Dharmasūtra* writers permitted a brāhmaṇa to take food cooked by a śūdra if he was supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules about pairing nails and cutting of hair. They also provided that a brāhmaṇa can take the food cooked by a śūdra if the latter was his own cowherd or ploughman or a hereditary friend of the family or his own barber or dāsa.[1] Similarly, in certain ceremonies the śūdras-male or female, washed the feet of the brāhmaṇa guests.[2] But with the growing rigidity in social organisation the

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untouchability made its ugly appearance. The *Dharmaśāstras* reflect this new situation. But even now it was not wholly hereditary. The determinant factor was perhaps an obsession of cleanliness and personal purity with the brāhmaṇas. Any one who was unclean or was engaged in a profession which was filthy and repugnant became an untouchable on temporary or permanent basis. Thus, not only the tanners, cāṇḍālas and pukkusas became untouchables but also one who was murderer of a brāhmaṇa, a thief of brāhmaṇa's gold or a drinker of spirituous liquors became untouchable. A woman in her menses or during early days after delivery or one who touched the dead body and did not bathe were also untouchables for the time being. Those against whom prejudice was obtained because of religion, sect, worship, nationality, profession or otherwise were also treated as untouchables and unworthy of social communication. According to certain authorities touching of Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, brāhmaṇas guilty of doing actions inconsistent with their castes, atheists, cāṇḍālas, pukkusas, mlechchhas, Bhillas, Pārasīkas, persons guilty of *mahāpātakas*, fisherman, deer hunter, hunter, butcher, bird catcher and washerman was prohibited. Even a boy whose *yajñopavīta* ceremony had not been performed was untouchable to his father while the latter took his meals. There is no prejudice against the śūdras as such in this list but only against certain professions.

The concept of excessive personal cleanliness, prejudice against certain professions and trades, hatred for certain religious beliefs and worship and desirability to keep away certain nationalities from Hindu society were at the root of untouchability. The general rule of untouchability is that if one touches an untouchable, one should bathe with cloths on. But this rule was relaxed in certain cases. If a *dvija's* limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a naṭa, an oilman or a hangman, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water *i.e. ācamana*.[3] It is to be noted that no bathing in these cases is necessary. Further, this cannot be said that washing of particular limbs is tentamount to practising untouchability. Besides, we must also remember that not all ´s¯udras were untouchables. According to Medhātithi (even) *antyajas* as a class are not untouchables. Only cāṇḍālas amonst the *antyajas* are so (*cāṇḍāla ekaḥ pratilomo-spṛiśyaḥ*)[4] It is unfortunate that in late medieval period for the reasons beyond justification spirit of exclusiveness dominated Hindu society out of proportion and often many of the directives and mandates of law-givers were ignored. For example, there has been no legal basis to avoid the shadow of cāṇḍāla but we found this practice in our country even quite lately in some parts.

It seems that the concept of untouchability was originally in the context of ceremonial purity and not in the context of social communication. Bṛihaspati says that untouchabilty is not practised on such occassions as battles or when a country is invaded or when the village is on fire. And according to Atri, a touch of śūdras is to be ignored while in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices and festivities.[5] The *Smṛitichandrikā* also tells that 'there is no fault in touching a śūdra on a public road, or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like and also when the whole village is involved in a clalamity.[6] Just as touch of certain type of people (and not necessarily śūdras) polluted the body of the *dvija* on certain occassions (and not always), so did the taking of food of all type or any type from the hands of certain people (not exclusively śūdras). Rules regarding whose food may be taken by a *dvija* are detailed and almost exhaustive. Here a śūdra alone was not ineligible to offer food to higher castes. He was one of several types of people whose food was not taken. Such persons are one who has not kept sacred fires, a miser, a thief, a vaiṇa, a singer, an actor, a dancer, a *mahāpātakī*, a courtesan, a physician, a surgeon, a hunter, one suffering from an incurable disease, a cruel, an unchaste woman, a *matta*, an enemy, a patita, a śūdra, a goldsmith, a henpecked husband, one who serves as a priest to the whole village, a vendor of weapons, a blacksmith, a nishāda, a tailor, one who does the menial service, a king's purohita, a washerman, an ungrateful person, a distiller or seller of liquors, a backbiter, a liar, an oil pressor, a bard, a childless son-in-law, a carpenter, an astrologer, a worker in hides, a spy, a hypocrite, a vrātya etc.[7]

The liberal attitude regarding acceptance of food from śūdras, however, did not last long. Whereas formerly food cooked, touched or carried by śūdras was unconditionally accepted, in the early medieval period conditions were laid down. According to *Garuḍa Purāṇa* food (including boiled rice) prepared by a śūdra should be unconditionally rejected with the exception of one made by a dāsa, gopa, kulamitra, ardhasīrī, nāpita, or a śūdra who has surrendered himself to a brāhmaṇa, which may be eaten without any prejudice.[8]

Smṛitis are by and large very strict in observance of untouchability and so are the Purāṇas which tow the line of the Smṛitis. Śūdras appear to occupy greater concern in the Purāṇas than the kśatriyas and vaiśyas. May be, it was due to apprehension that śūdras posed greater threat to brāhmaṇa supremacy and sense of purity. Description of Kali age, a favourite

subject of the Purāṇas predicts the rise of śūdras and setting of brāhmaṇas' ascendancy. It is thus not understandable why H.H. Wilson feels that the Purāṇas relaxed to some extent the earlier orthodoxy. He reasons that at the time of Manu many important saṁskāras were forbidden for the śūdras which were later permitted e.g. *Pākayajña* and *Pinḍadāna*. In this connection it may be stated that some of the Smṛitis and Dharmaśāstras had already made relaxations in matters of touching a śūdra and accepting the food cooked or carried by the latter, and there is nothing special in the Purāṇas which one does not find in the Smṛitis. However, it must be admitted that strong Bhakti movements in the Purāṇas of the early medieval period had certainly a softening effect and the later Smṛiti writers incorporated Purāṇic view in their works.

Thus, a careful review of the evidence of the Vedic literature, Smṛitis and the Purāṇas leads us to infer that untouchability did not exist in the Vedic period though there were people who lived on professions regarded as low. As against this, the position considerably changed later when the *Mahābhārata* was composed where many of the people born of certain *pratiloma* sexual relationships were declared *varṇavāhya* (outside the realm of varṇas).[9] Touch of many of them was avoided. In the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas which reflect a period of social upheaval, sexual mixing of many castes and tribes and emergence of foreign races in India, the prejudice against śūdras in general and some of their castes in particular further increased.

The caste system by now had become almost hereditary and so had become several professions e.g. working on hides, washing clothes, doing filthy jobs, guarding crematories, hanging and rearing dogs. Out of a vast list of persons whose touch was avoided formerly in certain situations, some of the castes of śūdras were permanently disabled. The statements of the *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas* are as a matter of fact confusing. They sometimes strongly recommend non-communication with some of the śūdra castes and sometimes they make liberal rules. However, we have reason to believe that till early medieval period, a physical touch of a *dvija* by a so called untouchable was acceptable except on certain occasions. Similarly certain type of food cooked or touched by a śūdra was also acceptable. Later growth of untouchability to the extreme was only logical and inevitable specially because of ignorance of śāstric prescriptions, increase in class distinctions for social and economic reasons and stagnation of Hindu society due to foreign invasions and rule.

References

1. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, i.5.6.22.
2. *Ibid*, ii.3.9-10.
   तस्यपादौ प्रक्षालयेच्छूद्रमिथुनावित्येके। अन्यतरोऽभिषेचने स्यात्।
3. रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ।
   निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च नटः शैलूषकस्तथा।
   चक्री ध्वजी वध्यघाती ग्राम्यकुक्कुट सूकरौ।
   एभिर्यदङ्ग स्पृष्टं स्याच्छिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु।
   तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्ताः प्रयता मताः। Aparārka
4. Medhātithi on *Manu*, x.13.
5. देवयात्राविवाहेषु, यज्ञ-प्रकरणेषु च।
   उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टर्न विद्यते।। *Atri*, 249.
6. ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु।
   ग्राम सन्दूषणे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते।।
7. सेवकः पुर-संस्थश्च कुग्रामस्थोऽभिशस्तकः।
   वैद्यो वैखानसः शैवो नारीजीवोऽन्नविक्रयी।।
   शस्त्रजीवी परिव्राट् च वैदिकाचार निन्दकः।
   क्रमाद्दशगुणान्यूनयेषान्नादनेः दने भवेत्।। *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Uttar Bhāga, 8.44-46-49. Also *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, 76.6.
8. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 96.65
9. *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, 48.9.11 and 28. Also 59.33.

LIQUOR-BREWING INDUSTRY IN THE POST MAURYAN PERIOD

Shyam Manohar Mishra*

The use of intoxicants/inebriating drinks seems to have started in pre-historic times[1] and prurience for these immensely increased from the post Vedic period. Liquor-brewing became a well organised industry in the Mauryan age under direct control of the state.[2] There appears to have been further increase in the popularity of strong drinks, in the post Mauryan period, and people of all castes and classes including rulers and femalefolk indulged in drinking in varying degrees. Also the foreigners like the Greeks, Parthians, Śakas and Kushāṇas who had immence liking for alcoholic beverages may have further abetted the practice. The *Milindapanho* has included strong drinks in the appanage of rulers.[3] From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that at the time of Rāma's departure for exile and consequent demise of Daśaratha, Bharata found Ayodhya devoid of the fragrance of *vāruṇī* (a strong liquor). and Sītā is stated to have promised to worship river Bhāgīrathī with one thousand pitchers of wine on her safe return from the forest.[5] We are also told that the tavern of Rāvaṇa used to remain stocked with several varieties of wine and associated eatables.[6] The *Mahābhārata* also contains several descriptions of drinking. Wines of different variety like *surā*, *maireya* etc. were served on a large scale in the wedding ceremony of Abhimanyu[7] and the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhishṭhira has been likened to a sea of *surā-maireya*.[8]

The Jaina *Bhagawatīsūtra* included trafficking in liquors (*rasa-vāṇijya*) in the important occupations.[9] Dealers in drinks also find their mention in the long list of callings met with in the *Milindapanho*,[10] and guilds of distillers of spirituous liquors appeared for the first time in the post Mauryan times. Also the earliest medical treatises written by Suśruta and Charaka belong to this very period.

Patañjali (second century B.C.) informs us that people of east, Bālhīka (Balakh) and Sauvīra (a neighbouring state of Sind) were fond of drinks, while those of Gandhara liked *kashāya* variety of wine.[11] Strabo (first century B.C.) has referred to (a large scale) production of wine in Sind as also in the mountainous regions of India.[12]

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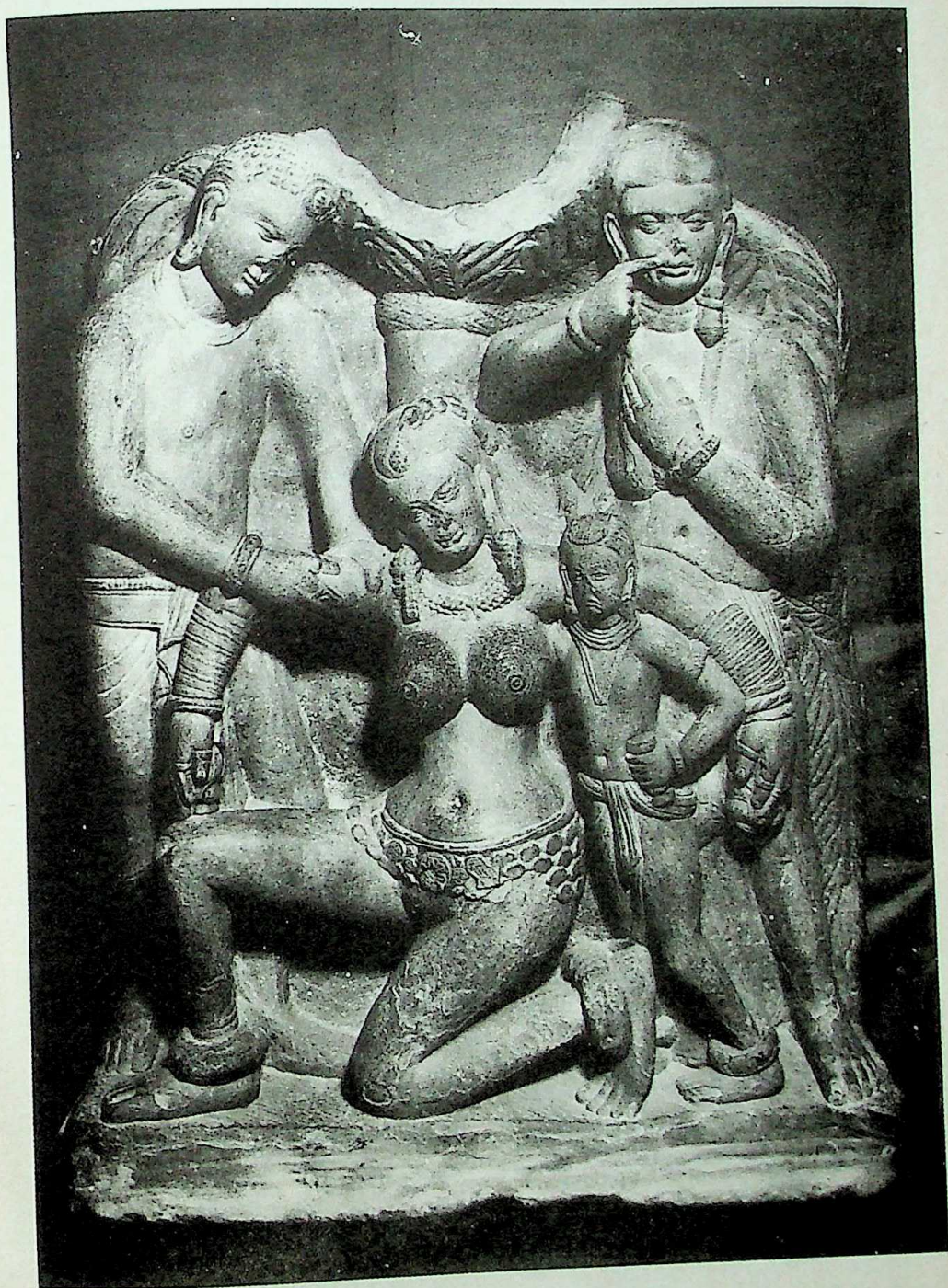
In the *Gāthāsattasaī* (*Gāthāśaptaśatī* of the Sātavāhana sovereign Hāla, later half of first century) we are told that spring season and old wine strongly stimulate sensuous and romantic urges[13] and that the latter can impart so much charm even to an old lady as to enable her to win over lovers like a newly wedded wife.[14] This work also contains graphic descriptions of the dalliances of drinking couples.[15] Bharata Muni[16] would make us believe that *patatri*, *piśācha* and *hasti* types of courtezans were particularly fond of drinks. But infact all prostitutes irrespective of their category indulged in drinking almost regularly if they could afford it.

The treatises of Suśruta and Charaka contain elaborate and systematic accounts of different varieties of drinks; ingredients used in their preparations; process of their manufacture; their medicinal values as also their positive and negative effects on consumers. According to Charaka, wines in general being exhilerating and wholesome are the best drinks. They remove fear, grief and fatigue, enhance energy and confidence besides imparting the feeling of contentment.[17] According to Suśruta[18] all varieties of wine are appeatising, mildly purgative and easily degestible. They generate heat in human body; stimulate sense organs; subside deranged *vāta* and increase discharge of urine and stool. He adds that only well matured, palatable, mild, aromatic and exhilerating liquors are fit for consumption. Comparing new and old wine he (Suśruta) says that the former is heavy, bad smelling, insipid and unpalatable, and causes acid reaction as also slimy secretions of organs. Old wine on the contrary is light and appeatising having pleasant flavour. It also improves the taste of food; cleans internal channels of organism; subsides deranged *vāta* and cough.[19] Suśruta and Charaka have prescribed different alcoholic beverages with their doses for different ailments. But they were seldom used as medicines and people mostly indulged in drinking freely and indiscreetly.

Drinking scenes in art

Depictions of drinking scenes in art were generally much less numerous as compared to their descriptions in literature. But the artists of the post Mauryan period out rivalled their counterparts of the earlier as well as later times so far as the number, variety and voluptuaries in the delineation of drinking dalliances were concerned. These representations not only corroborate literary accounts, but also substantially supplement them. Drinking scenes are mostly met with in the sculptures and reliefs of Gandhara,[20] Mathura,[21] Sanchi,[22] Sanghol,[23] Kaushambi,[24] Kanpur,[25] Ahichchhatra,[26] Nagarjunakonda[27]

and Amaravati.[28] Some of these are very interesting and deserve description here. A stone sculpture found at Maholi near Mathura bears on its one side the figure of a lady in drooping posture with her left hand resting on the shoulders of a female holding a drinking cup, while her right hand is held by a man who might be her husband or paramour. He is lending support to prevent her fall. The other side shows four human figures in dancing hilarity (see plate). Almost similar representation is met with on another stone sculpture recovered at Naroli near Maholi.[29] The Gandhara artists appear to have specialised in making delicately carved trays several of which have drinking scenes. One toilet tray from Sirkap has in its middle register a large wine vat in which two men are treading juice, and a boy is drawing off it in a flagon. Another man is carrying a wine skin on his back and emptying it into a krater, while a companion is holding a bowl.[30] A rare sculpture from Nagarjunakonda portrays a lady who turned her face on being offered wine. C. Sivaramamurti has identified her as a *proshitapatikā* whose recently returned spouse is trying to train her again to enjoy wine.[31] In our view she is a langurous lady being annoyed due to some reason; or else, she had already drunk to her satisfaction.

Variety of strong drinks

As for varieties of alcoholic liquors, they went on increasing. Vishṇu[32] has mentioned wines distilled from molasses/sugar, flour, flowers of the Madhūka tree, fruits of Taṅka or Kapittha, Jujube Kharjūra trees, and bread-fruit trees and from the sap of cocoanut tree. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[33] we are told that the tavern (*pāna/āpāna bhūmi*) of Rāvaṇa was stocked with *surā* (a general term for intoxicating drinks), *prasannā* (made from grapes), *śarkarā* (sugar wine), *mādhvī* (made from honey) and wines made with the decoctions of flowers and fruits (*pushpāsava* and *phalāsava*). The medical treatises of Suśruta and Charaka add *ākshikī* (prepared from the bark of Vibhītaka tree), *medaka* (made from the mixture of water, rice grains and ferment), *jagala* (underlying residue of wine), *vakkasa* (a heavy wine not much intoxicating), *madirā*, *madya* (general words for strong drinks) to these besides referring to some sub-varieties of *surā* and *sīdhu*.[34] The *āsavas* and *arishṭas* mentioned by Suśruta and Charaka were generally used as medicines. Other sources of the post Mauryan times also contain scattered references to *kairātaka*[35] (a strong wine), *kīlāla*,[36] (made from cereals), *vāruṇī*[37] (a highly intoxicating liquor), *madhu/mādhvī*[38] (made from honey) and *kāpiśāyanī*[39] (a grape-wine of the Kapiśā region of Afganistan earlier mentioned by Pāṇini and Kauṭilya).

From the Epics we learn that Sītā had a liking for *mairey* wine[40] and Krishna enjoyed *sīdhu* in the company of Arjuna to ward off fatigue.[41] *Kairātaka* was also fairly intoxicating, strength-giving besides being stimulator of martial zeal. Hence Bhīma[42] and Sātyaki[43] had consumed it before going to fight. *Vāruṇī* seems to have been the most inebriating wine which overwhelmed drinker soon after its consumption.[44]

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (all) spirituous liquors are made with sugarcane juice, molasses, honey and parched grains[45] Vāgbhaṭa also says that they are prepared from grapes, sugarcane juice, honey and quality rice.[46] But besides these fruits, flowers and bark of certain trees and medicinal substances too were used in preparing wines as evidenced from the above account. The *Lankāvatārasūtra* has referred to ripening of fruits into alcoholic liquor.

Drinking vessels

Cups, bowls, goblets and beakers of various shapes and materials were used for drinking wine, and jars for serving and storing them. Excavations at Arikmedu yielded three types of Roman ware *viz*. Arretine, Rouletted and Amphorae. Amphorae was a two handled high pot meant for storing wine and also used at public festivals. It was a standard vessel for transporting oil and wine. Their sherds have also been found at Kanchipura, Nevasa, Ter, Junnar, Dwarka, Ujjain, Taxila and Nagara.[47] Numerous drinking-cups, goblets and beakers of different shapes of copper, bronze, silver and other materials were found in excavations at Sirkap besides a large amphorae of Mesopotamian or Graeco Roman type.[48]

Kings, aristocrates and rich persons used very costly vessels. According to Charaka,[49] drinking-vessels should be made of gold and silver and set with gems. Megasthenese and Curtious have also mentioned gold-cups and jewelled cups used for alcoholic liquors.[49A] But commoners mostly used earthen wares and vessels of other cheap materials.

Import of wines

Notwithstanding large scale production of a large variety of spirituous liquors including costly ones in India, quality wines were imported from other countries also at least from the Mauryan age.[50] The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (first century A.D.) has alluded to the import of wines from the Mediterranean countries adding that there was a great demand for Italian wines in India which were preferred to all other wines and that imports of Barygaza, Barbarican, Muziris and Nelcynda (all famous ports)

included Italian, Laodicean and Arabian wines.[51] It has been suggested that the wines imported at Barygaza (Broach) might have been date-wines because the *Periplus* has referred to export of dates in large quantities from Omman and elsewhere to the above-mentioned port.[52] Pliny (first century A.D.) also tells us that wine made from date-palms was used by the Parthians, Indians and by the people of the whole east.[53] And from the *Śilappadikāram* we learn that a Pāṇḍya potentate was requested to drink the wine brought by the Yavanas[54] (Romans).

Condemnation of drinking and penal provisions for drinkers

The evils of indulgence/over indulgence in drinking attracted attention of the writers of the *Dharmaśāstras* and other moralists who not only severely condemned it, but also made several such provisions as were expected to contain it. The *Milindapanho* included gift of spirituous liquor in ten condemned *gifts*.[55] According to Manu, wine being the dirt of all food-grains is extremely detrimental to health.[56] It causes skin diseases,[57] stimulates sexual urges and entails manifold miseries.[58] Manu included drinking of *surā* in five great sins[59] and in six vices of women.[60] He like Vishṇu[61] strictly forbade the use of three varieties of wine namely *gauḍī*, *paishṭī* and mādhvī, by all *dvijas i.e.*, brāhmaṇas, kshatriyas and vaiśyas,[62] adding that one who even smells wine, or whose food gets in touch with wine-vessels, falls from his caste,[63] and that a king should banish liquor-brewers from his dominion.[64] It has been further said that drinker of *surā* is unfit for offering libation to male[65] and female[66] ancestors. Strongest condemnation was directed against brāhmaṇa drinkers.[67] As for kshatriyas and vaiśyas, they could take liquors made from flowers of the Madhūka tree, grapes, sap of cocoanut tree as also from the fruits of Tanka, Kapittha, Jujube, Kharjūra and bread-fruit trees.[68] But they were not allowed to sell spiritutous liquors even in times of distress. There were, however, no restrictions for śūdras regarding brewing of strong drinks or their use.. Taking a practical approach in this regard Manu says that there is nothing wrong in taking meat and wine, because these are the natural habits of human beings. But their avoidance yield great fruit.[69]

Also certain penal provisions were made to discourage drinking. Thus a drunkard was not eligible to act as witness in a court of law.[70] Lending money to a drunkard without consulting his father, brother etc. was against the provisions of the sacred law and that liability of paying debts taken by a person for alcoholic drinks, did not devolve on his sons or other relations after his death.[71] As for female drinkers, Manu[72] and Yājñavalkya[73] permitted a person even to remarry if his spouse was an addict to alcoholic liquors.

Concluding remarks

The cumulative evidence of the above-mentioned sources of diverse nature unmistakably bear out widespread use of spirituous liquors by the people of all castes and classes including the brāhmaṇas, ascetics and femalefolk notwithstanding the reprobations and penal provisions of the writers of the *Dharmaśāstras*. Consequently wine-brewing industry thrived. But there is, however, no evidence of direct or even indirect initiative taken by the rulers in regulating the production, sale and use of alcoholic drinks as we find in the case of the Mauryas. Nor is state known to have tried to get an appropriate share in the profits of the industry. Had the guilds of wine distillers as also rulers properly regulated the production and sale of strong drinks, the liquor brewing industry would have become perhaps much more lucrative and certain costly and palatable wines like *kāpiśāyanī*, *mādhvī* and *maireya* etc. which were generally used by aristocracy, could be exported to other countries. In this connection it is relevant to quote Ketias who says that "Cheese and wines of India are sweetest in the world."[74] But there are references only to the imports of wines in India from other countries as mentioned above, and none to their export to any alien land.

Notes and references

1. For references see Erwin N., *Pre-historic Rock -paintings*, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp.18-19, 27-28.
2. *Arthaśāstra* (ii.25) has included *surādhyaksha* in the list of eighteen superintendents. He looked after everything concerning production, sale and consumption of strong drinks.
3. *Milindapanha,* Sacred Books of the East, xxxv, Part I, Oxford, 1890, p.267.
4. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 114.20-24.
5. सुराघट सहस्त्रेण मांस भूतौदनेन च
   यक्ष्ये त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता। *ibid*, 52.89.
6. Sundarakāṇḍa, 11.11-28.
7. Virāṭaparva, 72.28.
8. Aśvamedhaparva, 89.39.
9. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, xxiv, Nos. 1-2, p.117.
10. Sacred Books of the East, xxv, Part 2, Delhi, 1975, p.210.
11. *Mahābhāshya*, v.3.67; ii.2.29; *Kāśikā*, vi.2.10.

12. Theophrastus, *History of Plants*, iv.4.11.
13. *Gāthāśaptaśatī*, Pūrva, ii.9.
14. *ibid*, ii. verse 8.
15. *ibid*, Uttara, vi.50.
16. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, xxiv. 111.14; 122-23.
17. *Charakasaṁhitā,* Vol.2, text and Eng. trans. by R.K.Sharma and Bhagwan Das, Choukhamba Sanskrit Series, xxvi, p.527.
18. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Vol. I, Eng. trans. by K.L.Bhishagratna, Choukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1981, p.457.
19. *ibid*, pp.463-64.
20. One of the carved trays of first century B.C., shows a man reclining on a bed with a wine cup and looking at a woman seated on a stool with a wine cup. Another woman is carrying a garland. All the figures are clad in Greek chifon and himation. Marshall has identified it as a banquet scene (*Taxila*, Vol.2, pp.494-95). Another toilet tray of first century A.D. depicts the process of preparing grape wine, and two persons are shown in a drunken state (*ibid*, p.495).
21. For references see *Journal of American Society of Oriental Art* (old series), vi, pp.70-71; *ASA*, AR, 1922-23, p.161.
22. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Monuments*, pp.51,55, figs-1.xxii; *ibid*, pp.37, 60; Srivastava, A. L., *Sanchi Sculptures*, New Delhi, 1983, p.72.
23. Several sculptures of Kushāṇa period found at Sanghol in district Ludhiana in Punjab, also depict drinking scenes. One of these shows a besotted woman being looked at by her lover. In another sculpture a lady is shown with a wine flask. (Gupta, S.P., ed. *Kushāna Sculptures from Sanghol*, New Delhi, 1985,p.125).
24. A terracotta plaque from Kaushambi (scond century A.D.) has figure of a lady with a liquor jar in one hand.
25. A terracotta from Kanpur Dehat of first century shows a man lifting up a swooned lady (Kala, S.C., Teracotta figurines, from Kaushāmbi, Allahabad, 1950, p.39).
26. A round terracotta from Ahichchhatra bears the figure of a man lending support to a stupified woman (*ibid*, pp.38-39, fig.94 b).
27. Several reliefs at Nagarjunakonda have amorous couples in frolic postures and indulging in drinking (see *MASI*, No.54, plates 36-B and 38-A; Krishnamurthy, *Nagarjunakonda: A Cultural Study*, p.144, fig.x,6; *Marg*, ix, p.70.
28. In a frieze at Amaravati the first panel presents a prince surrounded by several women and a wine cup is being offered to him by one of them (Srivaramamurti, C., *Amaravati Sculptures*, p.250).
29. Agrawala, V. S., *Journal of the American Society of Oriental Art* (old series), vi, pp.70-71.

30. Marshall , *Taxila*, Vol.2, p.182, pl.144; *ASR*, 1928, p.56.
31. *Marg*, ix, p.70.
32. *गौड़ी माध्वी च पैष्टी च विज्ञेया त्रिविधा सुरा।* *Vishṇu*, xxii.82.
    माधूकमैक्षवं टांकं कौलं खार्जूरपान से।
    मृद्विकारस-माध्वीके मैरेयं नारिकेलजं।। *ibid*, 83.
33. Sundarakāṇḍa, 11.11-28.
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59. *ibid*, ix.235.
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61. *Vishnu*, xxii.82.
62. *Manu*, x.89.
63. *ibid*, xi.70.
64. *ibid*, ix.225; *Yāj*. iii.229.
65. *Yāj*. iii.207.
66. *ibid*, iii.6.
67. *Manu*, xi. 97,149; xii.56; *Yāj*.iii. 27, 39,207, 256.
68. *Vishnu*, xxii.82-84.
69. न मांस-भक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला।। *ibid*, V.56.
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SECOND SEASON AT AGIABIR : A NOTE

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Archaeological investigations on the ancient settlement of Agiabir (Latitude 25^0 13' 52" N; Longitude 82^0 38' 41" E) located on the left bank of the Ganga, near Katka railway station on the Varanasi-Allahabad section of the Northern Railway, were conducted by the Banaras Hindu University under the direction of the authors during 1998-99 and 1999-2000. The ancient settlement spread over in an area of 40 acres along the river and it has been partly eroded by it. The main mound measures about 500 m x 500 m. Archaeological excavation was carried out by the present team in the western part of the settlement (named ABR-1) as also in the eastern part of the main mound (termed ABR-2) during 1998-99 and a brief report on these excavations has already been published (Singh. P. *et.al.*, 2000: 31-68). In the second season two test pits of 2m x 2m and 3m x 3m size respectively were excavated on the northern and southern slopes of the main mound (Mound-1). Natural soil was struck in these two test pits at the depth of 2.00 m and 4.50 m respectively. In both the trenches remains of the first three periods were found. This would *inter alia* provide firm evidence that the inhabitants of the earliest period had occupied a much larger area, approximately 14 hectares.

The main objective of the second field season (1999-2000) was to obtain a complete sequence of culture at the main mound where carved stone pillars representing parts of an early medieval temple were lying on the surface. In all, eight trenches measuring 5m x 5m square were opened. The excavation was carried out upto a maximum depth of 5.40 m without reaching the natural soil. In all, several structures of different phases, made of burnt bricks and ascribable to two periods (Kushāṇa and Gupta periods) were exposed. Details of these structures are as follows:

Structure 1 exposed in trenches YE-6I & II, was made of fresh as well as reused bricks (size 40 x 26 x 6 cm). This structure had eight courses. Structure 2 running north-south with seven extant courses was made of fragmentary bricks only. Structure 3 was running in east-west direction

* Paper presented in Annual Conference of Indian Archaeological Society held at New Delhi on 1-3 December, 2000.
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while its return wall was seen at right angle to it in north-south dirction. This structure has three constructional phases. The wall of first phase was 75 cm. wide and was made of bricks of 39 x 26 x 5 cm size. In the second phase this structure was strengthened by adding a retaining wall of 33 courses. During the third phase this wall was further buttressed by a stepped wall, presently standing to a height of fifteen courses. This wall was also largely made of fresh as well as reused bricks. This wall is 8 metres long (north-south) and 11 metres long (east-west). The size of this structure indicates that this is a public/religious building presumably used as a shrine. Structure 3-A is part of a rectangular room with entrance on the eastern side. The bricks used in this room are of two sizes (44 x 29x 6 cm and 44 x 26x 6 cm respectively). The eastern wall has 26 courses of bricks. The size of this room is 6.80 m x 2.50 m. Structures 3-B and 3-C are later additions running in east-west direction between structures 3 and 3-A. These walls are also made of burnt bricks and stand to a height of twenty-two and twenty-one courses respectively. Structure 4, running north-south was made of bricks of 42x28x5 cm size. Structure 5 is underlying below the remains of structure 3 which had five courses intact and was found running in the north-south direction. It was made of bricks of 45x28x5 cm size. The thickness of the brick walls and the large size of the room indicate that presumably it was a public building/religious structure of an earlier period. During the excavation a large number of roof tiles were recovered from inside the room giving an idea about the roofing arrangement.

During excavation few long ovens (size 4.18 m, 3.70, 3.10 m) were noticed at a depth of 1.55 m which were full of ash and potsherds. The presence of this type ovens in the vicinity of this complex indicates that they were used as a community kitchens in festive/religious occasions.

The ceramic industry comprises essentially of red ware with some sherds of Red Polished ware. The principal types in the former include various types of vases and storage jars, inkpot lids and knobbed lids, *parat*, miniature vessels and decorated sherds. In the Red Polished ware sprinklers and bottle-necked jars are the principal type and they were confined to the top six layers excavated by us during the current field season. This stratigraphic evidence provides a firm time-bracket to this ware at the present site. Similar evidence comes from other sites like Sringaverapura, located 120 km upstream on the left bank of the Ganga.

As stated above, the Red Polished ware is continued in layers 1-6 with short necked jar (sprinkler) as the main type. The limited excavation yielded 28 pieces of the neck portion of the sprinklers. A similar discovery

comprises bottle-necked jar with small perforation in the body to control the flow of liquid. Similar pieces were found at Kaushambi (Sharma, 1969:fig.31, types 118-119) and Sringaverapura (Lal, 1993:fig.29).

Some typical pottery types like sprinklers of Red Polished ware, an incense burner and bottle-necked jars having a small perforation in the neck for controlling the flow of the liquid were recovered from the vicinity of the buttressed wall. All these pottery forms provide substantial indications that this building was used for religious purpose.

A sealing of baked clay is an important discovery of this year's excavation. This sealing having legend '*Harisenasya*' in pre-Gupta Brāhmī script was recorded. The small head-marks on *ra*, extended upper portion of letter *sha* on either side and the angular form of *sa* in letter *sya* indicate that the palaeography of this sealing belongs to the late third or early fourth century A.D.

A good quantity of indeterminate objects of terracotta (probably lids of the bottle-necked jars) were recovered from the top six layers. These objects have a small perforation on the top. The function of these objects is difficult to determine.

Other small antiquities comprise a copper coin, terracotta figurines, terracotta discs, antimony rods, copper and iron objects.

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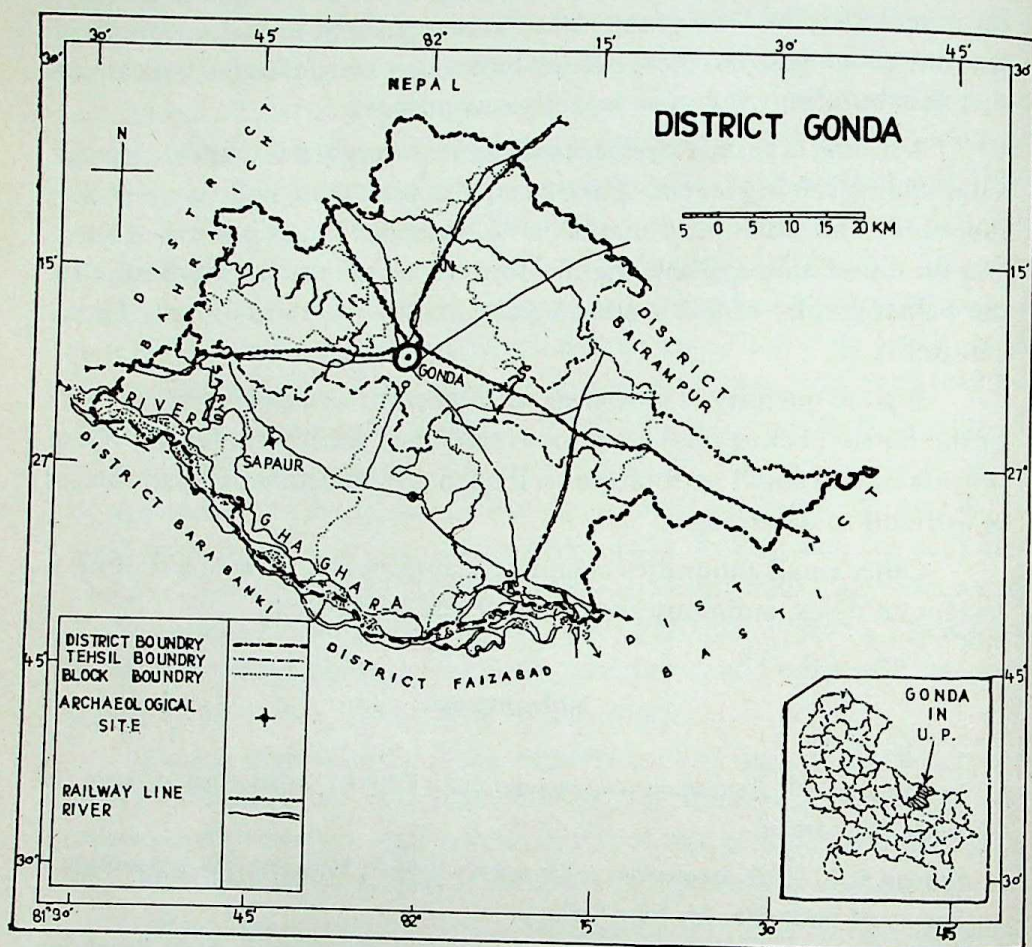
Figure 1Map of District Gonda showing the location of the site

EXCAVATION AT SAPUR, DISTRICT GONDA, U.P.

D.P.Tewari*
R.D.Singh*

The ancient site of Sapur (Lat. 27° 20' North, Long 81° 47' East) is in Colonelganj tehsil of Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh. It is a part of revenue village Hardia of Paraspur block. The site is about 120 km. east of Lucknow and 18 km. south of Colonelganj tehsil headquarters. It is approachable by Colonelganj-Belsar metalled road up to Paraspur and a *Kharanja* cum cart track of 3 km. bifurcated from village Charahuwam, leads to the site (fig. 1).

The present village of Sapur is located in the middle of ancient mound, rest of the area is under cultivation. The size of mound is about 400x200x5m. It is surrounded on three sides with two nalas known as Kakarahia nala which joins Terhi river in the east of the mound. A mosque and tomb of few *fakirs*, a *thān* of *Sammai Mai* and a Śiva-*linga* of sandstone locally known as Mahadeva are being worshipped by the local residents on this mound.

Traditionally it is believed that the Paurāṇic king Nahusha through rigorous penance obtained the status of Indra. Once upon a time he felt a sensual disire for Indrāṇī. He sat in a *palki* carried by *ṛishis*[1] to meet Indraṇī. While moving from Ayodhya he came to this place and ordered *ṛishis* to move fast "sarpa sarpa chalo". The *ṛishis* became angry and cursed him to become a snake. Some others believe that the snake is the *grāma devatā* of this place, and, therefore, it was named as Sapur, abode of snakes.

In 1997-98, the exploratory team of Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, under the direction of Dr. D.P. Tewari, assisted by Durgesh Srivastava and some other students completed the village to village exploration of this District. They noticed this place to be a settlement of Northern Black Polished Ware to Medieval period.[2] On the basis of the archaeological material and geographical situation of the site, it was decided to carry out scientific excavation to confirm the chronological sequence of this area, especially in Saryu-Terhi doab.

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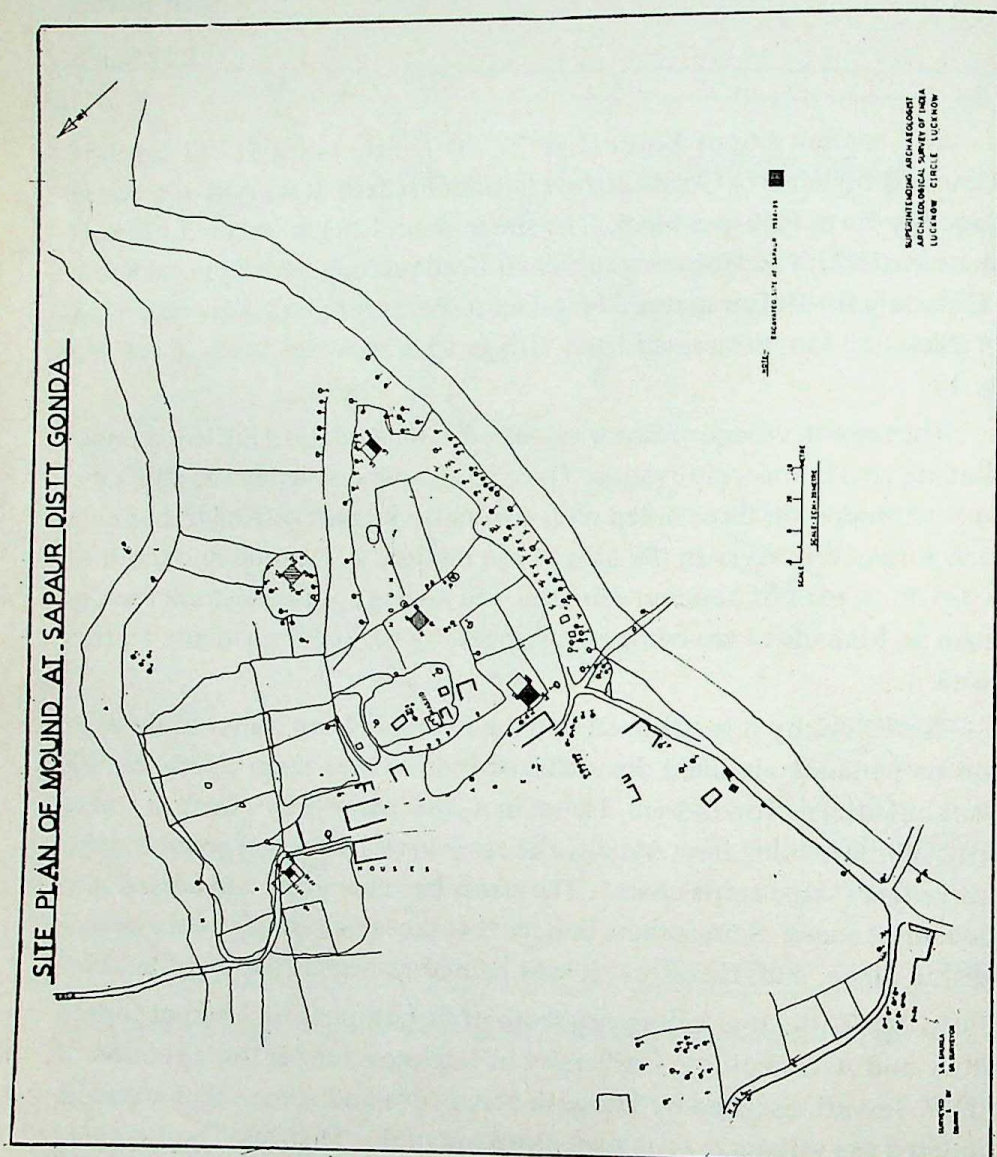
Figure 2. Site plan of the Site

The excavation was carried out in collaboration of Archaeological Survey of India, Lucknow circle and Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow Unversity.

Cuttings

Seven trenches of 10x10m were laid on different parts of the mound (fig.2). Trench A1 was laid on the top most portions in the centre of the mound. All the quadrants of this trench were excavated up to the depth of 1.30m. Only quadrant 2 was excavated up to the depth of 6.10m. *i.e.*, natural soil. The total accumulation of 4.90m was divided into 12 layers: Layer 1 was assigned to Medieval period; layers 2 to 5 were assigned to Gupta period; layers 6 to 8 to Kushāṇa period; layer 9 was marked as a transitional layer of Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period while layers 10-12 were assigned to N.B.P.W. period.

Trench Y F 17 was laid on north-eastern corner of the mound. It was dug up to the depth of 3.90 m. which was divided into two cultural phases. Layers 5 and 4 are assigned to period I and rest of the layers to period II *i.e.*, Kushāṇa period.

Trench X J 3 (fig.3) was laid in south west of the mound on its periphery near the present village settlement. It was 90m. away from A1. The level of trench area at peg no XH4 was 2.56 m. down to peg A1. Its quadrant 3 was excavated up to the depth of 3.55 m. *i.e.*, natural soil. The total habitational deposit of 2.73 was divided into 9 layers. Layer 1 belongs to Medieval period; layers 2-3 were assigned to Kushāṇa period; layer 4 was a transitional deposit of Sunga-Kushāṇa period, and layers 5-9 were assigned to N.B.P.W. period.

Trench L5 was laid on the north-east flank of the mound at a distance of 100 m. to A1. Its eastern half part of quadrant 4 was excavated up to natural soil *i.e.*, 4.65 m. The total habitational deposit of 4.35 m. was divided into 8 layers. Layers 1-2 were assigned to post-Gupta and early Medieval period; layers 3 and 4 to Gupta period; layer 5 to Kushāṇa period and layers 6-8 to N.B.P.W. period.

Other three trenches ZJ 4, ZJ 5 and ZK 5 were laid on the eastern part of mound, locally known as Jhārkhaṇḍī Mahādeva. The excavation was carried out up to a depth of 1.20 m. to expose the plan of a small brick temple dedicated to Śiva.

Chronology

A four-fold cultural sequence was obtained during the excavation. The

Figure 3.Trench XJ 3, Section facing north

dates are decided on traditional typological basis of pottery, terracotta human and animal figurines, sculptures, carved bricks and coins.

Period I	N.B.P.W. Period	circa.700 B.C. to Ist century B.C.
Period II	Kushāṇa Period	circa Ist century A.D. to 300 A.D.
Period III	Gupta and Post Gupta Periods	circa 300 A.D. to 650 A.D.
Period IV	Early Medieval and Medieval Periods	circa 650 A.D. to 1300 A.D.

Period I

Period I is represented by Northern Black Polished Ware, black slipped ware, grey ware and red ware. The N.B.P.W. is found in different shades, *i.e.*, golden, steel blue, coal black, chocolate and silvery. The fabrics are medium to fine. All these are well baked at high temperature and produce metallic sound. The main utilitarian types in this ware are dishes and bowls in different shapes. The dominating shapes are convex sided dishes with incurved rim and flat base while the bowls in fine fabric with either straight or slightly incurved/slightly everted rim and flat/rounded base. The corrugations and paintings are also found on the exterior of these pots. The second pottery type found here is red ware. The red ware is found in two varieties.

a. Dull red ware, medium to coarse fabric, not well levigated, fired at medium to low temperature, handmade and wheel turned. The main shapes are vases, carinated *hāṇdis*, storage pots, troughs and ministure pots. Sometimes the nail-impressed designs, rope pattern and cord impressions are also found on the exterior. Few of them are decorated with non-geometric liner executions.

b. Fine red ware, made of well levigated clay, wheel turned, fired at high temperature, treated with fine red slip and sometimes painted with black bands. The main shapes in this ware are convex sided dishes with incurved rim and flat base, bowls with straight/globular/convex profile with featureless/ incurved/slightly everted rim. The rimless *hāṇdis*, Ahichchhatra 10A type pots are also available in this group.

Third group of pottery is grey ware, medium to fine fabric, handmade and wheel turned, plain on both sides. The main shapes are dishes, bowls, ministure pots and vases.

Black slipped ware is also found in medium to fine fabric, made of

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cm 0 1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 10
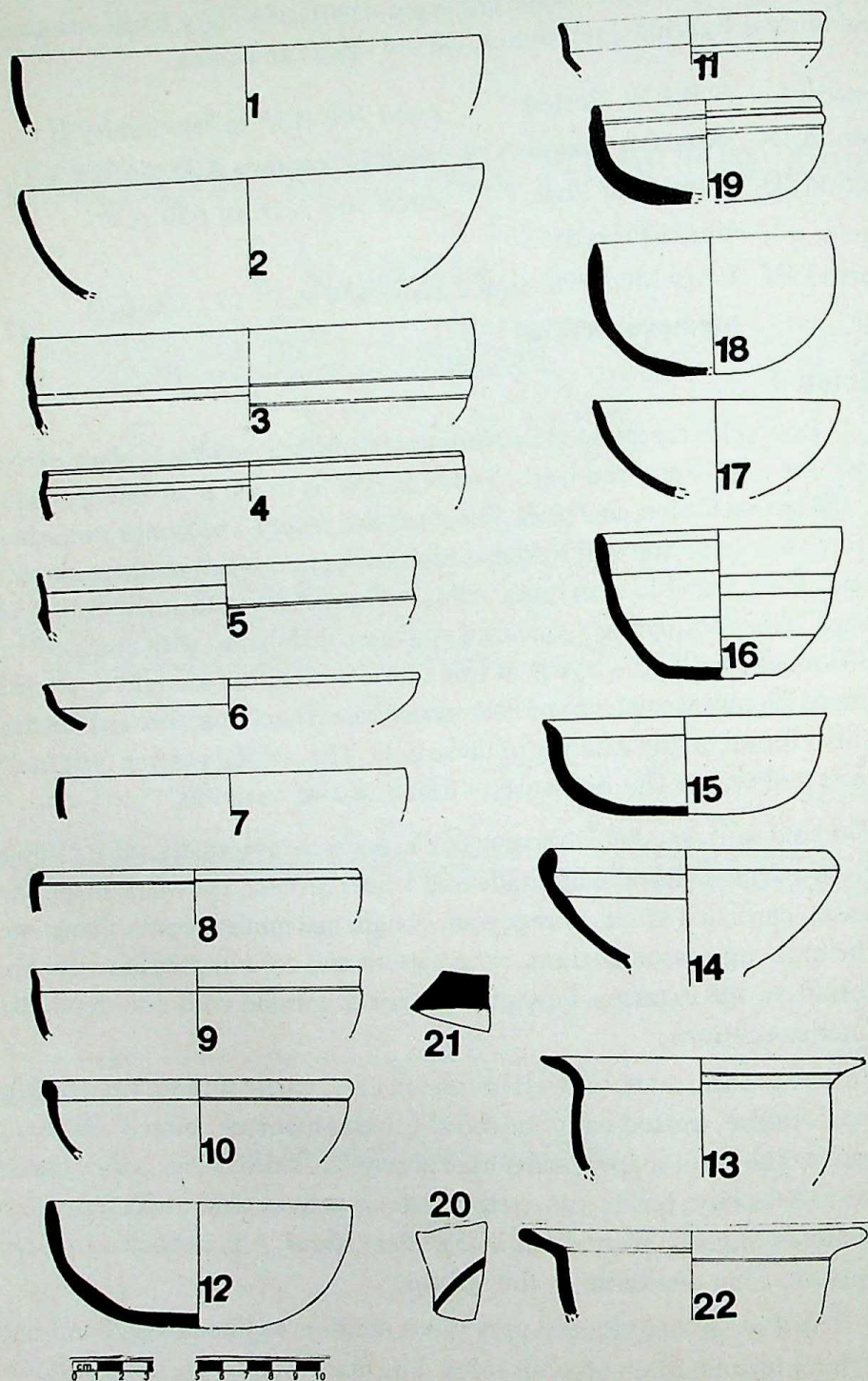
Figure 4. Bowls- Period I

well levigated clay and costed with fine black slip. The stamped and floral designs are also found on the inner part of flat bases of dishes. Few of them are decorated with nail-impressed designs. The main shapes are dishes, bowls and miniature pots. A few of these are described as below:

Figure 4

Bowls

1. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, vertical internally beveled rim, convex sides, and inner grey, outer red, thin fabric, reddish grey core, from lower level.
2. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, slightly incurved internally thinned rim, convex sides, treated with red slip on exterior and smoky grey interior and below the rim on exterior as well, fine fabric, reddish grey core, from lower level.
3. Fragment of a bowl, black slipped ware with thin black slip, vertical festureless rim, bulging profile, a ridge between two grooves on the exterior below rim, fine thin fabric, greyish core, from lower level.
4. Fragment of a shallow bowl, orange red slipped ware, slightly everted rim, convex sides, mild carination on the exterior below rim, fine thin fabric, reddish core, from lower level.
5. Fragment of a bowl, orange red slipped ware, vertical rim, and mild carination below ridge on the exterior, painted with a horizontal band on rim in interior, fine thin fabric, greyish core, from lower level.
6. Fragment of a shallow bowl, Northern Black Polished Ware, coal black hue, vertical externally thickened rim, convex sides a depression below rim on the exterior, fine thin fabric, greyish core, from lower level.
7. Fragment of a bowl, Northern Black Polished Ware, vertical featureless rim, convex sides, fine fabric, greyish core, from lower level.
8. Fragment of a bowl, dark grey ware, incurved beaded rim, slightly convex sides, fine fabric, grey core, from lower level.
9. Fragment of a bowl, black slipped ware, slightly everted internally thinned rim, mild ridge on exterior, convex sides. The slip has tendency to peel off, fine fabric, greyish core, from lower level.
10. Fragment of a bowl, orange red slipped ware, oval collared rim, convex sides, fine thin fabric, reddish grey core, from lower level.
11. Fragment of a bowl, Northern Black Polished Ware, and coal black hue,
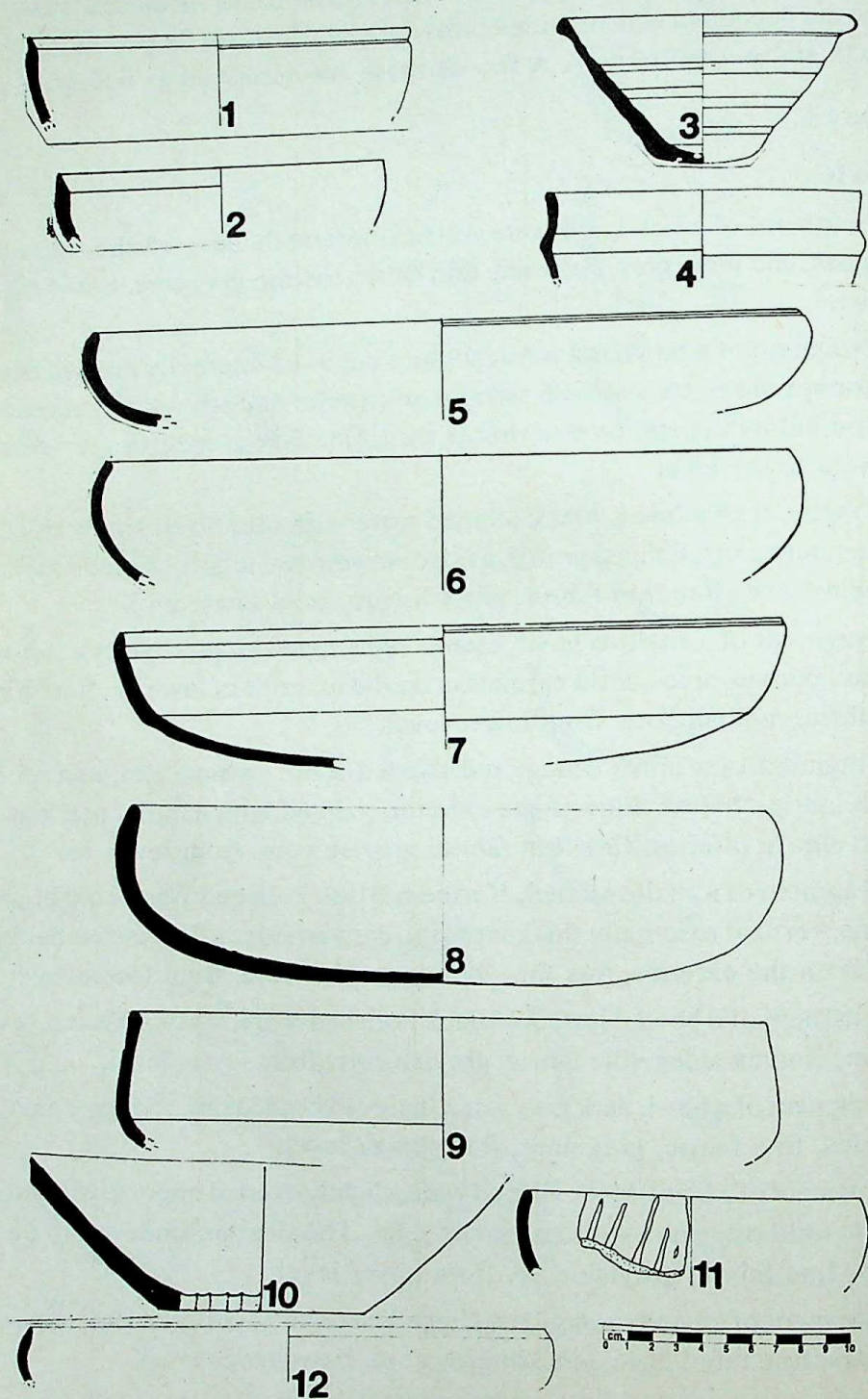
Figure 5. Bowls and Dishes- Period I

vertical featureless rim, a ridge below rim on exterior and mild grooves in interior. Fine thin fabric, blackish core, from lower level.

12. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, vertical featureless rim, convex sides, flat base, medium fabric, treated with thin red slip on both sides, reddish grey core, from upper level.
13. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, out curved rim, flaring mouth globular profile, fine reddish core, treated with fine red slip on both sides, from lower level.
14. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, incurved rim, flaring sides, devoid of surface treatment, medium fabric, reddish core, from upper level.
15. A complete bowl, black slipped ware, slightly everted internally thinned rim, a depression below rim on exterior, convex sides, flat base, four concentric circles incised on the bottom, dark grey core, from upper level.
16. A complete bowl, black slipped ware, vertical featureless rim, the weak slip applied on both sides has tendency to peel off, made on slow driven wheel, having depression on exterior, disc base, fine, greyish core, from lower level.
17. Fragment of a bowl, orange red slipped ware, vertical featureless rim, convex sides, fine thin fabric, and reddish core, from lower level.
18. Fragment of a bowl, grey ware, vertical internally sharpened rim, convex sides, rounded base, medium fabric, greyish core, from upper level.
19. Fragment of a miniature bowl, dull red ware, vertical featureless rim, two grooves and a ridge on exterior and a groove below rim on the interior, flat base, medium, greyish core, from lower level.
20. Fragment of a bowl, orange red slipped ware, and bright slip on both the sides, a horizontal band in black pigment on exterior, fine thin fabric, reddish core, from lower level.
21. Fragment of a pot, grey ware, treated with a band of black pigment on grey background on exterior. The inner is grey, fine thin fabric, grey core, from middle level.

Figure 5

1. Fragment of a hemispherical bowl, black slipped ware, slightly everted thin rim, grooves below on interior, globular profile fine fabric, greyish core. The slip is being pealed off on both the surfaces, from lower level.
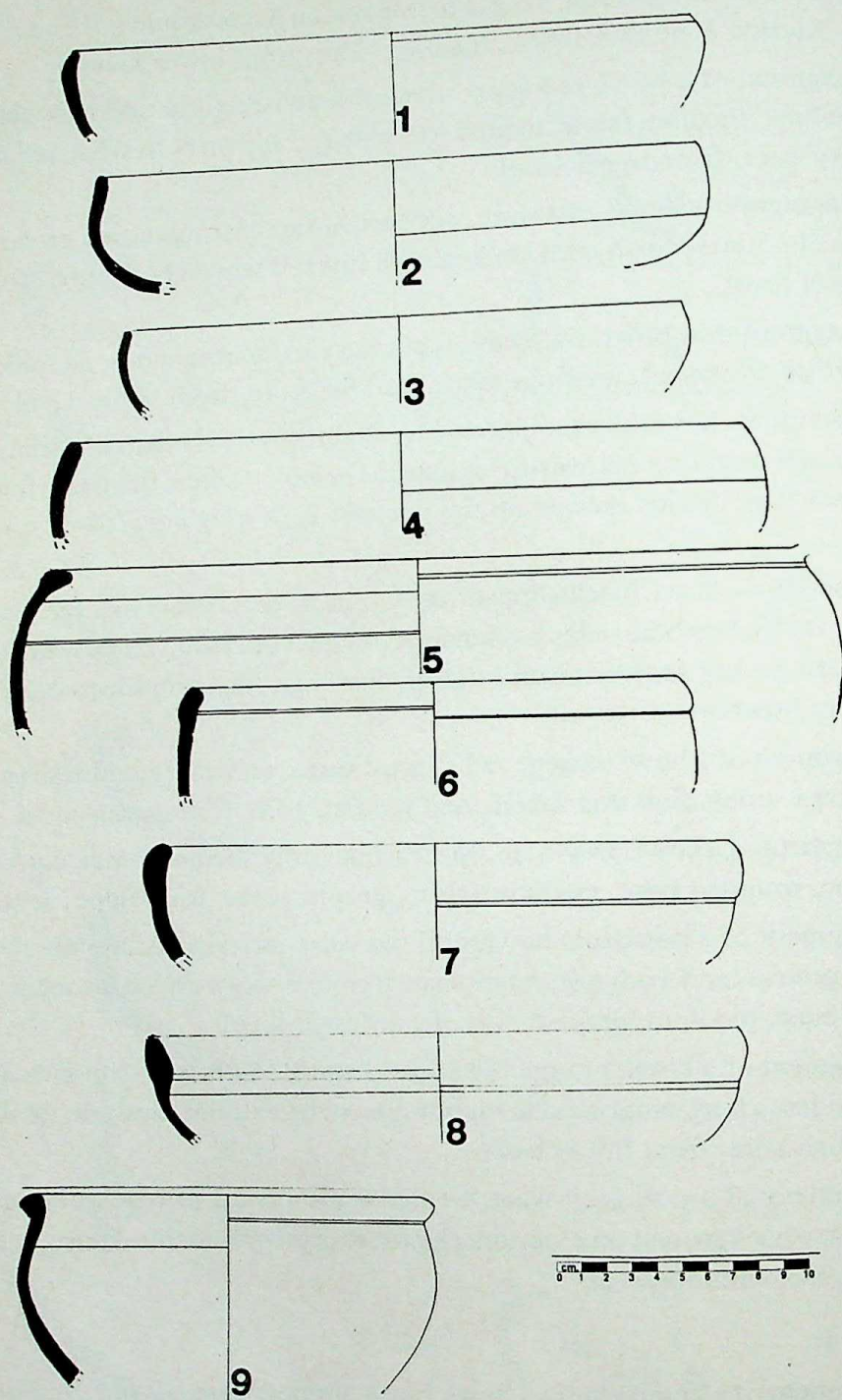
Figure 6.Dishes and basins – Period I

2. Fragment of a bowl, grey ware, vertical internally thinned rim, convex profile, medium fabric, grey core, from upper level.
3. Fragment of a bowl, red ware, everted thickened rim, corrugations on both sides, treated with red wash, medium fabric, reddish section, from mid level.
4. Fragment of a bowl, black slipped ware, everted rim, carination below it on exterior, a deep groove in interior, fine thin fabric, greyish core, from lowest level.
5. Fragment of a dish, red ware, incurved rim, convex sides, inner grey and outer red, fine fabric, grey core, from mid level.
6. Fragment of a shallow dish, red ware, incurved rim, convex profile, treated with fine red slip on both the surfaces, fine fabric, reddish core, from mid level.
7. Fragment of a dish, red ware, featureless rim, straight sides, flat base, fired at medium temperature, the half upper section is red and the base is black, treated with fine red slip, fine fabric, reddish core, from lower level
8. Fragment of a dish, grey ware, incurved rim, convex sides, rounded flat base, a stamped floral design on the center of the interior, treated with fine grey slip, medium fabric, greyish core, from mid level.
9. Fragment of a dish, black slipped ware, vertical featureless rim, both the sides are plain, the slip has a tendency to be peeled off, medium fabric, greyish core, from upper level.
10. Base fragment of a bowl, red ware, flaring sides, seven round perforations on base, medium fabric, and reddish core, from upper level.
11. Fragment of a convex sided bowl, incurved rim, the slip is deteriorating, four parallel strokes in grey on reddish background, fine fabric, reddish core, from lowest level.
12. Fragment of a dish, Northern Black Polished Ware, incurved rim, a depression below rim on exterior, the polish on exterior has peeled of, fine thin fabric, greyish core, from mid level.

Figure 6

Dishes and basins

1. Fragment of a dish, orange red slipped ware, orange red slip on both surfaces with black blotches on the exterior, incurved rim, convex sides, medium fabric, smoky grey core, from lower level.
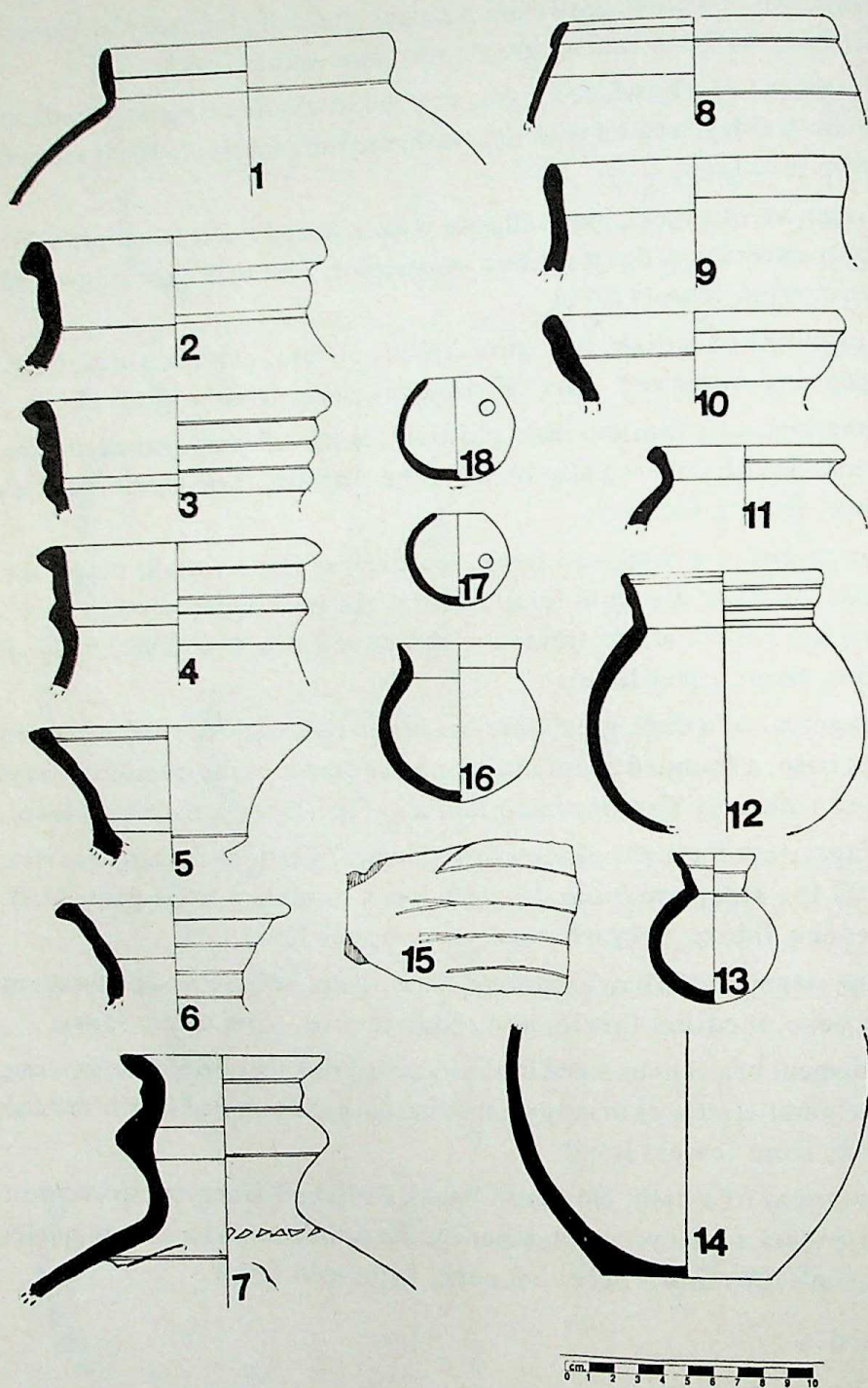
Figure 7. Vases and jars- Period I

2. Fragment of a dish, red ware, red slip on the interior, incurved rim, convex sides, smoky grey core, from mid level.
3. Fragment of a dish, Northern Black Polished Ware, The exterior top is black while the lower portion is red. The interior also has similar feature, incurved rim with slight depression below on the exterior and convex sides. Fine thin fabric. The core is reddish but on the other side it is dark grey.
4. Fragment of a dish, black slipped ware, black slip on both the surfaces, thickened slightly incurved rim, convex sides, fine fabric, smoky grey core, from mid level.
5. Fragment of a channel spouted basin, dark grey ware, incurved elliptically collared rim, convex sides, medium fabric, smoky grey core, from mid level.
6. Fragment of a basin, red ware, red slip on both the surfaces, the slip tends to peel off, incurved oval collared rim, depression inside, black horizontal band on the rim outside, convex profile, fine fabric, reddish core with a black streak in the middle from lower level.
7. Fragment of a basin, red ware, red slip on both the surfaces, incurved oval collared rim, convex sides, medium fabric, and reddish core, from upper level.
8. Fragment of a basin, dull red ware, flaring mouth, arrow head rim, depression on both the sides below the rim, convex sides, medium fabric reddish grey core, from mid level.
9. Fragment of a basin, red ware, red slip on both surfaces, flaring mouth, externally thickened beaked rim, globular profile, fine fabric, reddish grey core, from mid level.

Figure 7

Vases and jars

1. Fragment of a vase, red ware, vertical extrnally bulged rim, constricted neck, rounded sides, treated with fine red slip on both the surfaces, fine fabric, reddish core, from lower level.
2. Fragment of a jar, red ware, vertical externally thickened rim, vertical neck, a ridge on exterior, treated with red slip externally, medium, reddish core, from mid level.
3. Fragment of a jar, red ware, vertical externally thickened short collared

rim, corrugated neck, depression in interior, thick fabric, reddish core, from mid level.

4. Fragment of a vase, red ware, vertical externally thickened flattened at top rim, groove and ridges on neck on exterior, inner shows depression, medium, reddish core, from mid level.
5. Fragment of a vase, dark grey ware, flaring flattened at top rim, a mild under cut below rim in interior, concave neck, a groove and a ridge at shoulder on exterior, medium, greyish grity core, from mid level.
6. Fragment of a vase, thick grey ware, everted collared rim, corrugated neck, treated with dark brown slip on exterior, the interior is plain, medium, grey core, from upper level.
7. Fragment of a *surahi*, red ware, everted rim, cardoned long neck, rounded sides, treated with thin red slip on exterior, a row of nail impressed design below the shoulders on exterior, medium, reddish core, from upper level.
8. Fragment of a vase, orange red slipped ware, vertical beveled collared rim, convex profile, treated with thin red slip on exterior, while interior is plain, fine fabric, reddish section, from lower level.
9. Fragment of a vase, dull red ware, vertical featureless rim, slight convave neck, coarse fabric, reddish gritty core, from lower level.
10. Fragment of a vase, red ware, slightly everted thickened rim, a ridge carination for the neck on exterior, medium fabric, reddish gritty core, from lower level.
11. Fragment of a vase, dark grey ware, everted rim, constricted neck, rounded sides, treated with dark brownish slip on exterior, inner is plain grey, medium, greyish section , from upper level.
12. Fragment of a ministure vase, red ware, flanged rim, groove and a ridge on the neck on the exterior, globular profile, rounded base, medium fabric, reddish core, from mid level.
13. A miniature vase, red ware, slightly everted bulging rim, rounded sides and base, treated with thin red slip on exterior, medium, from upper level.
14. Fragment of a vase, red ware, globular sides, flat base, medium, reddish section, from mid level.
15. Fragment of a vase, hand made, red ware mixed with mica, rustications and finger marks on exterior, and medium, reddish core, from lower level.
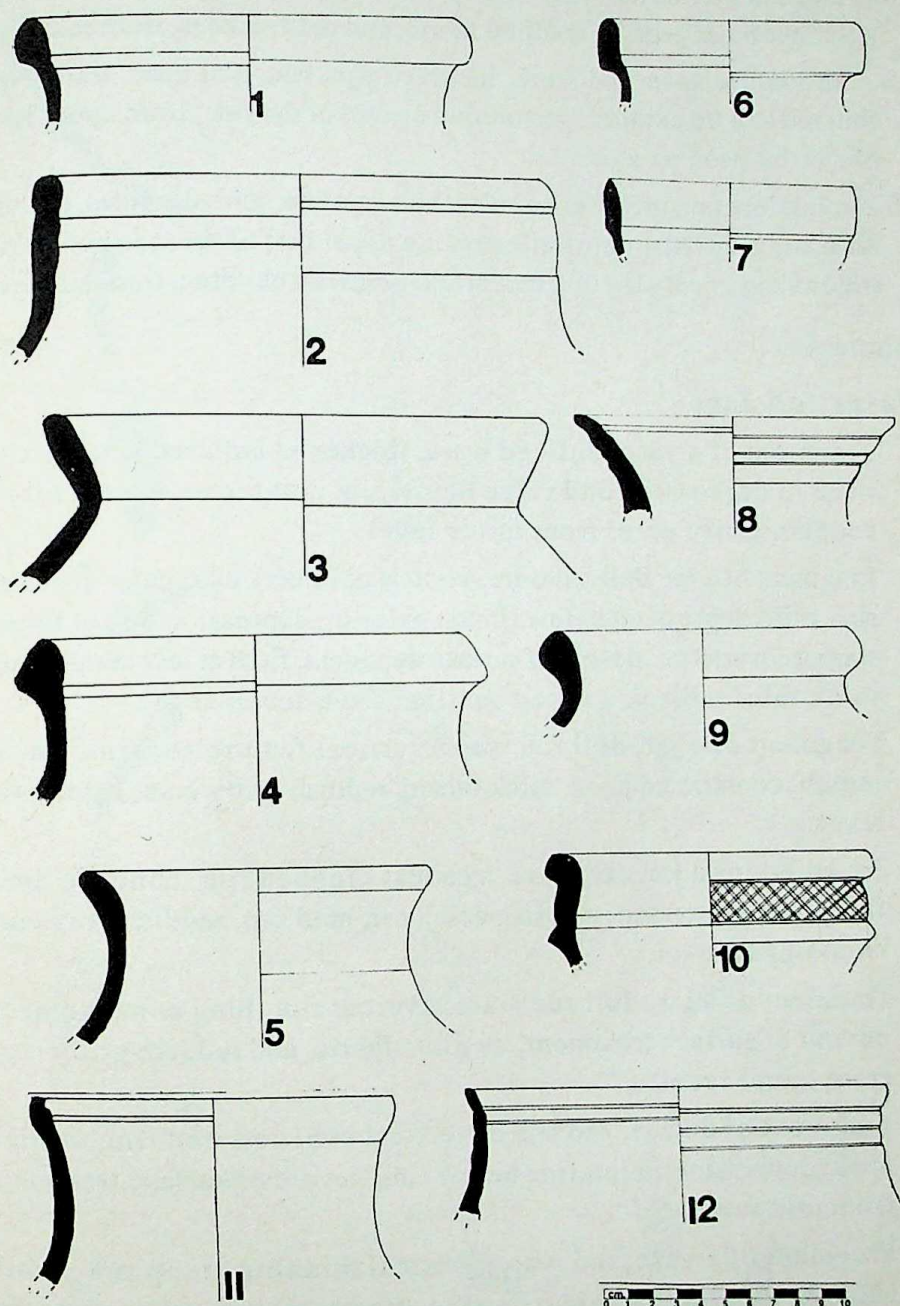
Figure 8. Vases and Jars – Period I

16. A miniature vase, red ware, slightly everted internally beveled rim, short neck, globular profile, medium fabric, and reddish core, from mid level.
17. A miniature vase, red ware, incurved rim, rounded base, trated with thin red slip on exterior, perforation on mid of the side, from upper level. Might be used as a toy.
18. A miniature pot, grey ware, rimless and neckless, globular sides, rounded base and a circular perforation on the upper half of the side below rim, used as a musical play instrument (*Bhaunra*) by children, from mid level.

Figure: 8.

Vases and Jars

1. Fragment of a vase, dull red ware, thickened collared rim, vertical neck, a depression and ridge below rim in interior, coarse fabric, reddish gritty core. from lower level.
2. Fragment of a jar, dull red ware, vertical obliquely externally thickened rim, mild depression below rim on exterior, depression due to fingers support in interior, devoid of surface treatment, fired at low temperature, thick fabric, black and red section, from lower level.
3. Fragment of a jar, dull red ware, vertical featureless rim, flaring mouth, constricted neck, thick fabric, reddish gritty core, from lower level.
4. Fragment of a jar, red ware, vertical clubbed rim, concave neck, the slip has a tendency to be peeled off, medium, reddish grey core, from upper level.
5. fragment of a jar, dull red ware, everted rim, long concave neck, devoid of surface treatment, medium fabric, and reddish gritty core, from upper level.
6. Fragment of a vase, red ware, vertical oval collared rim, vertical neck, depression in interior below rim, devoid of surface treatment, from mid level.
7. Fragment of a vase, red ware, vertical thinning at top rim, a mild ridge on exterior, devoid of surface treatment, thin fabric, reddish core, from mid level.
8. Fragment of a jar, red ware, everted rim, flaring mouth, concave neck, multiple grooves in interior below rim, slip has a tendency to be peeled off, medium fabric, reddish core, from upper level.
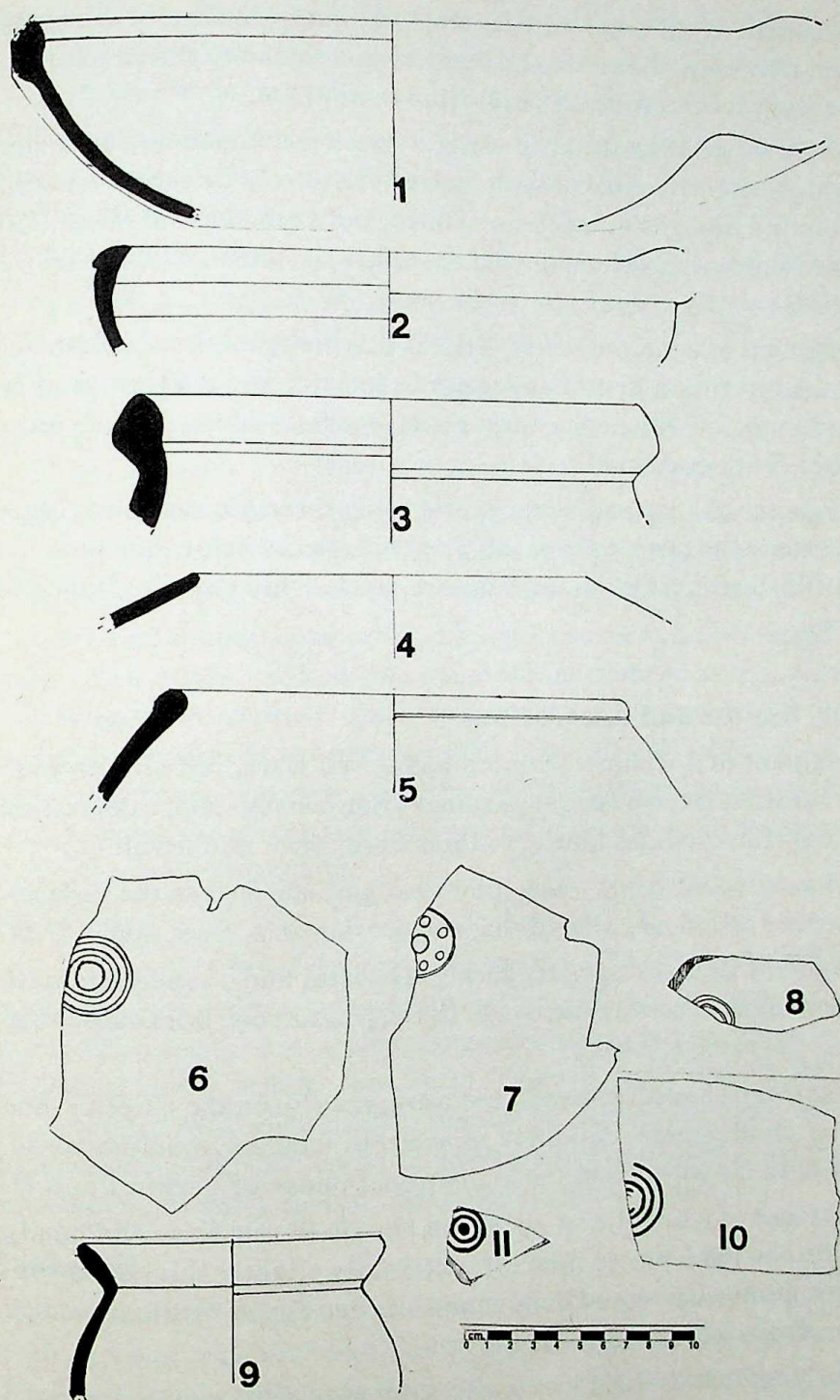
Figure 9. Basins,Handies and decorations on pots- Period I

9. Fragment of a jar, red ware, everted obliquely externally thickened rim, treated with red slip on exterior and to on the rim in exterior, medium fabric, reddish core, from lower level.
10. Fragment of a jar, dull red ware, everted thickened collared rim, a ridge below, decorated with incised criss-cross lines representing diamond designs on neck on exterior between rim and ridge. The inner shows depression, devoid of surface treatment, medium fabric, reddish gritty core, from lower level.
11. Fragment of a jar, red ware, vertical externally thickened flattened at the top rim, a gentle under cut in interior and a depression on exterior below rim, long concave neck, medium fabric, reddish gritty core. From mid level.
12. Fragment of a jar, red ware, everted rim, three grooves and ridges on exterior and two grooves and a ridge in interior below rim, globular profile, medium fabric, reddish core, treated thin red slip, from mid level.

Figure: 9

Basins, handis and decorations

1. Fragment of a channel spouted basin, red ware, red slip on both the surfaces, incurved elliptical collared rim, convex sides, a depression below rim, medium fabric, reddish core, from mid level.
2. A channel spouted bowl, dark grey ware, grey slip on both the surfaces, incurved elliptical collared rim, and greyish core, from upper level.
3. Fragment of a storage jar, dark grey ware, bud shaped rim with a depression, concave neck, coarse fabric, greyish core, from transitional layer of period I and II.
4. Fragment of a rimless handi, red ware, red slip on the exterior, and partly on the inside, obliquely splayed out shoulder, medium fabric, and reddish core, from the transitional phase of period I and II.
5. Fragment of a handi, red ware, red slip on the exterior and partly inside has tendency to peel off, externally slightly thickened rim, with a groove below and bulging profile, fine fabric, medium reddish core, from mid level.
6. Base fragment of dish, black slipped ware, in the center are three concentric circles, in relief and dark grey core, from the overlapping phase of period I and II.

7. Base fragment of a dish, grey ware, black slip on both the surfaces, in the center has design in relief comprising dots with in a circle, medium fabric, greyish core, from upper level.
8. Base fragment of a dish, grey ware, both the surfaces bear greyish slip in the center are concentric circles in relief. Fine fabric, greyish core, from upper level.
9. Fragmnt of a vase, red ware, red slip on the neck inside, obliquely splayed out rim, constricted neck and globular profile. Thin fine fabric, reddish core and from mid level.
10. Base fragment of a dish, black slipped ware, black slip on both surfaces, three grooves making concentric circles in interior of bottom, fine fabric greyish core from transitional phase of period I and II.
11. Base fragment of a dish, black slipped ware, light black slip on the both surfaces, three concentric circles in applique in interior bottom, fine fabric greyish core, from transitional phase of period I and II.

The antiquities found in this cultural phase are terracotta ghat-shaped beads, stone beads in cylindrical, trapezoid and rounded shapes, terracotta animal figurines, terracotta discs, terracotta bangles, stone weights bearing red polish on both sides, stone beads, pestles, balls and mullers, bone arrowheads, antlers, copper antimony rods, copper bangles, iron nails and spearheads besides glass bangles and glass beads. The animal bones and teeth are also found in good quantity (Plate 1.1).

Period II

Period II at Sapur represents Kushāṇa age. Red ware and black ware in medium fabric represent it. The potsherds in red ware are made of medium grained clay and fired at medium temperature. The main shapes in red ware are bowls, basins, dishes, vases, spouted vessels, sprinklers etc. Potsherds are decorated with bright Kushāṇa red slip and stamped designs. Terracotta figurines, terracotta beads, terracotta marbles, animal bones and iron implements are other noteworthy finds of this cultural phase (Plate 1.2).

Period III

Period III is assigned to Gupta age. It is represented by red ware made of medium grained clay, fired at medium temperature and sometimes decorated with liner designs. Brickbats, terracotta human male and female figurines, terracotta bangles and pendants are the main antiquarian remains of this horizon (Plate 2.1). It is noteworthy that a square plan of a brick

temple was recovered during the excavation in Jharkhandi Mahadeva area of the mound (Plate 2.2). The area fell in the north east corner of the mound. It was covered with trees and shrubs. The villagers are worshipping a Śiva-*liṅga* kept on an elevated platform. It was confirmed that a brick temple measuring 5.30 x 5.20 m. was built at this place during the late phase of Gupta period. The foundation of the temple was octagonal. The total twelve courses of brick structure were exposed. It was east facing and steps were made in front of it. The bricks used in this structure are fired at medium temperature and measures 29 cm x 21 cm x 6 cm and 28 cm x 20 cm x 5 cm. Some of them are carved with beautiful designs. Almost the carved bricks were in broken condition except one piece of 26 x 19x 5 cm. Some other bricks in the size of 31x21x5, 27x20x5, 29x20x5, 20x15x7.5, 20x19.5x4.5, 20x13x5.5, 20x17x4.5, 26x19x5 cm. were also found from the remains of the debris of the structure. The Śiva-*liṅga* was made on black sand stone which was plain and remains of argha was not found with it. A drain was attached with Śiva-*liṅga* for passing the water poured on it. It was also east oriented. A lined well and another platform was recovered in the north-eastern part to the temple. The temple was surrounded by 75 cm wide *pradakshiṇā* path, which was separated by a brick wall. A few broken sculptures of sandstone were also found. These may be identified as Vishṇu, lady attendants and devotees. The bricks used in repair bear the date of 1970 and 1972 which clearly shows that the temple was rejuvenated on small scale during these years.

Period IV

Period IV is assigned to early Medieval and Medieval periods. It is represented by red ware only. The main shapes are bowls with flaring sides and knife edged rim, basins, troughs, carinated *hāṇḍīs*, button knobbed lids, vases, kauries, copper coins terracotta figurines, beads and marbles etc. Some structural activities were also noticed during this period. Thick ash deposit found in this period in almost all trenches indicates that habitation was destroyed by fire.

Conclusion

The topography of the area suggests that the Sapur was situated on the bank of a tributary of Saryu in remote past. The first settlers of this area selected this land for habitation. The land was safe and comfortable for dwelling. It is evident from this excavation that the settlement started at this mound sometimes during 7th-8th century B.C. and continued up to

13 the century A.D. The settlers of this mound shifted their habitation towards south in the last phase perhaps due to fire.

Acknowledgement

We are thankful to all the participants viz. Dr. Rajiva Dwivedi, Shri V.K.Tiwari, Shri S.B.Shukla, of A.S.I. Lucknow circle and students of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology viz. Mr. Brijesh Kumar Pandey, Sandeep Kumar Rai, Sushant Singh, Praveen Kumar Baudha, and Shridhar Tripathi, for assisting us as trench supervisors and Nikita Chandra for preparing pottery drawings. We are also very grateful to Shri J. S. Nigam for his valuable suggestions and Shri R.S. Fonia, Superintending Archaeologist, A.S.I., Lucknow Circle to make available the materials for this report.

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   जौ जिंय होति न कपट कुचाली । केहि सोहाति रथ बाजि गजाली ।।

   भरतहिं दोसु देई को जाए । जग बौराइ राज पदु पाए ।।

   ससि गुर तियगामी नहुषु चढेउ भूमिसुर जान।

   लोक वेद ते बिमुख भा अधमन बेन समाज ।।

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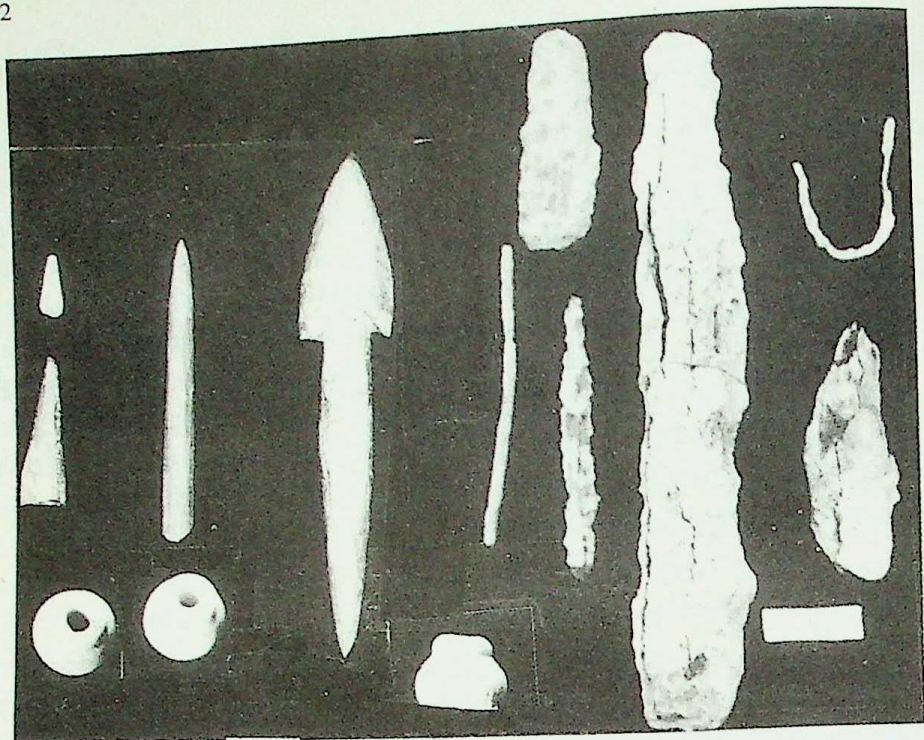
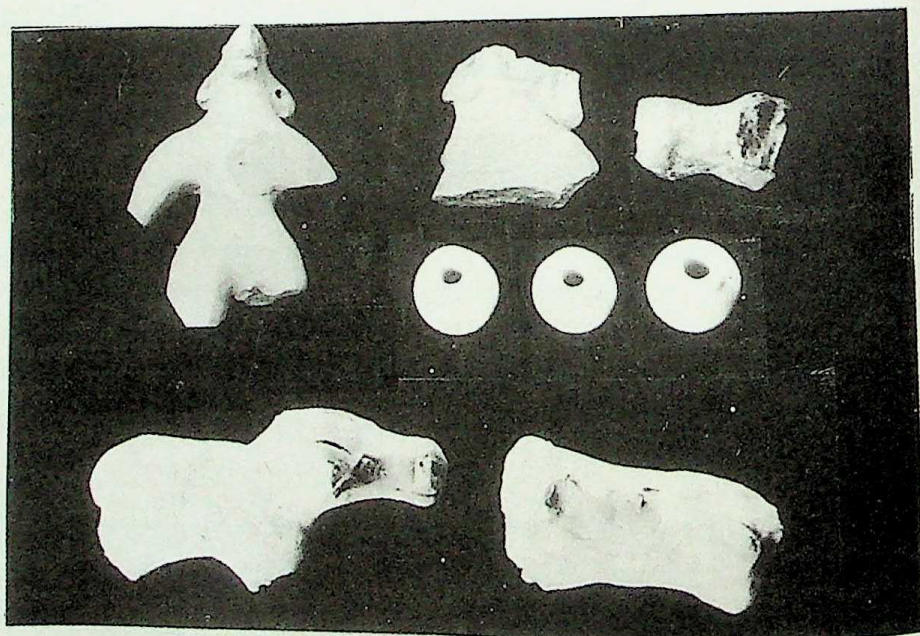


Plate 1.1 : Antiquities of Period I

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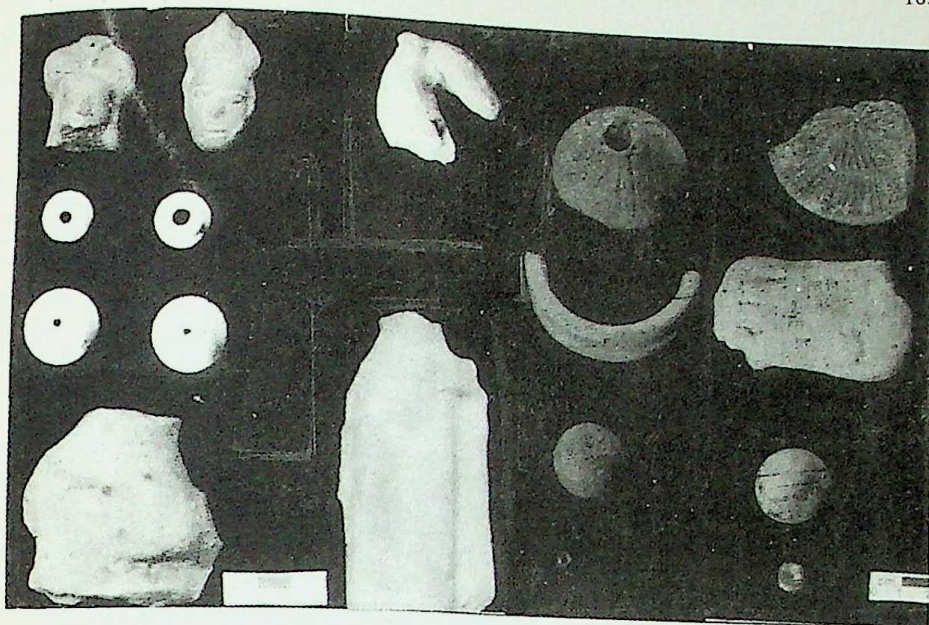
Plate 2.1 : Antiquities of Period III
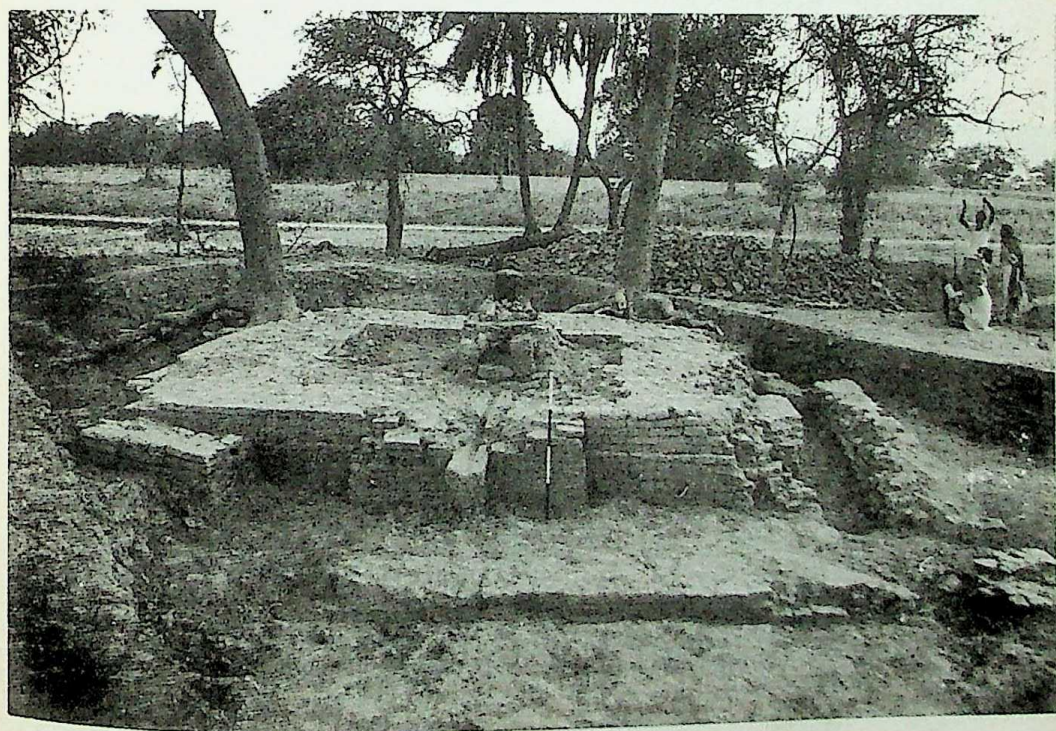
Plate 2.2 : Structure of Mahadeva temple

Plate 3.1 : Carved bricks from Mahadeva temple

Plate 3.2 : Sculptures from Mahadeva temple

A STUDY OF THE GROWTH OF VILLAGE ORGANISATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Gita Srivastava*

Local self government in ancient India has both historical and practical interest, which according to R. K. Mookerjee "protected the vital elements of Hindu civilization against the overwhelming political deluges that swept over the country from time to time".[1] Sir George Birdwood also says that 'India has undergone more religious and political revolutions than any other country in the world, but the village communities have remained little affected by their coming and going, as a rock by the rising and falling of the tide.'[2] Sir Charles Metecalfi regards (India's) village communities as "little repulblics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves."[3] In this paper an humble attempt has been made to study the growth of village institution, its formation, functions and significance in the local self government in ancient India upto Gupta period.

We are unaware of the form and functions of village administration in the period of the Harappan culture. The earliest references to village (grāma) are found in the *Ṛigveda*[4] where it is looked as a political unit being an aggregate of several families. The term grāma sometimes was also used to denote the village-folk.[5] Also prayers have been made for the prosperity of villages.[6] As for the village administration, the Vedic texts simply contain references to *grāmaṇī* (village-head) without throwing any light on his functions etc. Since Vedic states were very small and there were no towns, the village naturally must have been the pivot of political, social and religious activity. And it may be presumed that most matters concerning village were settled by village-head who might have been assisted by village-elders and experienced persons with king as their supreme authority. Besides, a popular assembly called *sabhā* also existed in the Vedic period, which was both a village social club and a village council.

The Jātaka stories frequently refer to village as a political unit under its head *grāmabhojaka*. From the Kharassara Jātaka we learn that it was the duty of the village-head to collect revenue and to safeguard his village with the help of local men, against the inroads of robbers. And in the Kulāvaka Jātaka it has been clearly mentioned that the affairs of the village were managed

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by the men of the village. It is also possible that the village headman was selected by them. The terms *Gaṇa/Pūga* seem to have denoted local corporation of villages and towns in the post Vedic period. Vijñāneśvara in his commentary of Yājñavalkya (ii.187) explains Gaṇa as a body of villages and others-*grāmādi-janasyasamsthā*. And the word *Pūga*, in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* seems to have the sense of a corporation of a village or a town.[7]

The early Buddhist literature also contains references to *gāma*, *gāmaka*, *dvāragāma* and *pachchantagāma*. *Gāma* and *gāmaka* probably denoted ordinary village and hamlet respectively; *dvāragāmas* were situated near the gates of cities and *pachchantagāma* were suburban and industrial villages supplying the needs of the cities.[8]

In the *Mahāvagga* (v.i) we are told the Magadhan monarch Bimbisāra used to convene meetings of 80,000 village-heads (number may not be actual) to discuss matters of their concern.[9] Works of common interest were done by villagers themselves. The Jatakas give a vivid account of how villagers used to repair roads of their village. They also dug wells for drinking water and kept them under repair etc. Jātakas, however, do not contain evidence of any regular council or standing committee for the purpose, and the initiative for such works was usually left to the village headman. But if he acted unreasonably or against the established customs of the locality or realm, the village-elders could set matter right by pointing out his mistakes.

We hardly know anything about the village administration under the Nandas (c.345 B.C.-322 B.C.). The first detailed and systematic information about it is met with in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The highly centralised system of administration under the Mauryas allowed only restricted autonomy to villagehead who was assisted by a council of village-elders (*grāma-vṛiddhas*) in settling only small matters. An officer of the central government called *Gopa* who was incharge of 5 to 10 villages, maintained office, kept records of the number of houses in villages, ownership and boundaris of fields, crops grown on them, and taxes due on them and realised them through *grāmaṇī*. Besides, *Gopa* also maintained records of the conditions of roads, rest houses, water reservoirs and shrines etc. He could command the services of village, elders and villagers in the discharge of various tasks.[10] *Grāmaṇī/grāmika* has not been included in the list of salaried officials in the *Arthaśāstra*. This has led some scholars to believe that he was not a paid employee but elected officer of the villages.[11] But some, however, regard him as an official of the central government.[12] Kauṭilya has not mentioned *grāma sabhā*. Kauṭilya (ii.2) also provided that the king should establish a *Sthāniya* in the middle

of 800 villages, a *Dronamukha* in the middle of 400 villages, a *Karvātika* in the middle of 200 villages and a *Sangrahana* in a group of 10 villages.[13]

Kautilya (iv.13) also says that if a caravan trader stays at night in a village, the headman of that village (*grāmaswāmī*) was to be informed about his goods, and if anything was lost or misplaced, the *grāmaswāmī* was responsible for restoring compensating it.[14] In this task he was assisted by the representatives of 5 or 10 nearby villages.[15]

The headman together with villagers had the right to punish the offenders and could expel a person from the village. But the headman as well as villagers were both punished for an improper use of this right. We are also told that 'when the headman of a village has to travel on account of any business of the whole village, the villagers shall by turn accompany him. Those who cannot do this shall pay 1.5 *panas* for every *yojana*. If the headman sends out of village any person except a thief or an adulterer, he shall be punished with a fine of 24 *panas* and the villagers with the first amercement (for doing the same).[16] The village administrator had the right to compel each person to do his share of work.' There is also evidence to show that corporate spirit among villagers was promoted. Kautilya says that "Those who with their united efforts construct on roads buildings of any kind beneficial to the whole country, he shall be given concession by the king."[17]

The post Mauryan records not only refer to *grāma*, the smallest administrative unit, but also to *grāma āhāra* or group of villages. The affairs of a village were managed by officers called *grāmayakayutta* and *grāmika*. Manu (vii.115-17) and Vishnu (iii.7-14) make mention of the hierarchy of officers for one village and for groups of 10, 20, 100 and 1000 villages who were to report (to the king) as what was wrong in their jurisdiction. Manu adds that these officers were to be given a share in royal revenue for the collection of which they were held responsible. But this provision of Manu is not corroborated by any contemporary writer, and we are not aware if it was in actual practice. Manu further provided that in the midst of 2, 3 or 5 villages, the king should place a central post of guards called *gulma* and in the midest of 100 villages (there should be a bigger post of guards) called *sangraha*.[18] A Jaina inscription from Mathura records the dedication of an image by the wife of a village headman. Thus the strict control of the central government over affairs of villages during the Mauryan age, slackened in the post Mauryan times.[19]

B. N. Puri thinks that *Ashtakula* like *Panchakula* was the form of local government in ancient India with eight and five representatives respectively

of village families, to form a board to decide a dispute that might arise.[21] Thus the above records point to the association of popular representatives with the district as well as with town and village administration.[22]

Also the village assemblies called *Panchamaṇḍalī* emerged in the Gupta period and its earliest reference perhaps is found in the Sanchi stone inscription of Chandragupta II.[23] These assemblies were known as *Panchakula* in western India in the post Gupta period.[24] According to Fleet the expression like *Panchamaṇḍala*, *Panchālī* and *Panchālika* occurring in the inscriptions denote institutions which were more or less similar to the Panchayat of modern times. The village jury of five or more persons was convened to settle a dispute by arbitration to witness and sanction any act of importance.[25]

Thus village was the pivot of administration of the rural folk. The primary assembly of the village consisted of all householders. The evidence of some inscriptions of south India shows that "all residents of a village including cultivators, professionals and merchants were members of village assembly.[26] Although village headman was responsible for carrying out administration, he was not free to work according to his own wishes. He was guided by the opinion of the villagefolk which made its presence felt through village-elders who formed a kind of informal council from very early times. Village councils appear to have existed through out India though their nature and functions differed to some extent in different parts. Elderly and experienced persons of integrity respected by villagers might have been nominated as village-elders.

From c.600 A.D. village-elders in Gujarat and Deccan used to appoint a formal executive committee of their own variously called *Mahattarādhikārī* or *Adhikārī mahattaras*.[27] Thus village-elders must have played significant role in guiding the *grāmaṇī* and villagers in their routine affairs, and in assisting officials of the government in disposing off the disputes arising in villages.

Post Gupta period witnessed a remarkable development in village administration and in autonomous functioning of village assemblies.

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CITY ADMINISTRATION THROUGH THE AGES

S. K. Jaiswal*

City[1] played an important part in ancient Indian life and was the pivot of administration from the period of Harappan culture. It was a unit both for social and political purposes, having a strong corporate character, performing many of the duties of the State. After Harappan culture, the second urbanisation in northern India began from the 6th-5th century B.C. The early Buddhist texts contain descriptions of numerous flourishing towns and cities.[2] From the accounts of the Greek historians we learn that Punjab was studded with a large number of towns on the eve of Alexander's invasion.[3] Not only commercial, but also political, social and religious factors contributed to the growth of cities which were efficiently governed. This paper deals only with basic features of city administration in ancient India.

The municipal administration of the Harappans was highly developed although we do not precisely know as to who looked after the arrangements of towns-one or more officers and/or committees. Whatever may have been the nature of Harappan municipal administrative set-up, it was very efficient and effective atleast during the mature phase of Harappan culture. The town-planning, elaborate system of drainage and sanitation presuppose the presence of an effective civic body, some what like the present day municipal corporations.[4]

The Vedic culture was predominently rural. Vedic texts contain prayers for the prosperity of villages[5] only without clearly referring to towns not to say of their administration. The second urbanisation began in 6th-5th century B.C. as a natural consequence of the emergence of large territorial states, remarkable progress in agriculture, crafts and trade. Several village settlements had now developed into towns and capital cities. Building of towns was included in king's duties. Early Buddhist texts refer also to big cities (*mahā nagaras*) like Varanasi, Kaushambi, Sravasti, Vaishali, Pāṭaliputra, Mathura, Ujjayini, Taxila etc.[6] The word *nigama*[7] used for city indicates that important cities were governed by their own councils. But we hardly known anything specifically about the city administraion in the post Vedic times.

Details of municipal administration are first recorded in the sources

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of the Mauryan age. A large number of towns existed in Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion and most of them were autonomous to a great extent being governed by their own councils.[8] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Indicā* of Megasthenese provide detailed descriptions of city administration which are supplemented by some inscriptions of Aśoka. According to Kauṭilya, the *nāgaraka* was the officer incharge of the capital city and looked after its affairs.[9] His special duties and responsibilities are discussed at length.[10] He is said to be responsible for preserving peace in the city by keeping watch over the movements of strangers and new comers to the city. He also took precautions against the outbreak of fire; looked after the sanitation of the city and health of the city-dwellers; and employed special watchmen for the purpose, especially for the night, kept in his custody articles which were recovered after they had been stolen or lost; maintained an elaborate census of houses and residents, including the total income and items of expenditure of the residents. Thus, the *nāgaraka* resembles in several ways the corporation commissioner of the present day.[11] The *Arthaśāstra* further says that, "when the officer-in-charge of the city (*nāgaraka*) does not make a report (to the king) of whatever nocturnal nuisance of animals or inanimate nature (*chetanāchetana*) has occurred, or when he shows carelessness (in the discharge of his duty), he shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of his crime."[12] Thus, the superintendent in charge of the city could not claim any immunity with regard to his duties.[13]

The Dhauli inscription of emperor Aśoka refers to *nagaravyāvahārika*.[14] He was the judicial officer of the city[15] and made efforts to remove hardships of citizens.[16] He was directed by the king to be impartial while providing justice.[17] He can be compared with *pauravyāvahārika* of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[18]

It is also relevant to mention that big cities were protected by *parikhā* (ditch) and *prākāra* (defence wall) which were provided with watch towers, covered ways and water-gates.[19]

We also learn that capital city was divided into four wards, each in charge of *sthānika* who was assisted by subordinates (*gopas*) entrusted with the supervision of a number of households varying from ten to forty.[20] It was in fact the condition in the larger Mauryan cities approximated to those of modern police state with the open supervision of *gopas* supplemented by a vigorous secret service.[21]

Municipal administration of Chandragupta's capital city Pāṭaliputra was entrusted to a commission of thirty members divided into six boards

of five members each.[22] Each board had its own department allotted to it.[23] Besides, the whole body of commissioners met collectively from time to time to discuss common measures of public welfare. Pāṭaliputra in the fourth century B.C. was very efficiently governed in accordance with the best principles of social sciences. It may be presumed that other big cities like Ujjain, Taxila etc. too, were governed broadly in a similar fashion. The town committees, as a matter of fact, were best common features of ancient Indian administration. We learn that there was a town council named *nigamasabhā* in the second century A.D. at Nasik in Maharashtra.[24] Bṛihaspati also provides for committees of five members in corporate associations.[25]

In the Gupta period, the head of city administration was called *nagararakshaka* as is evident from the Junagarh rock inscription of Skandagupta.[26] Sometimes he was also called *purapāla*. From the Junagarh rock inscription we learn that Chakrapālita was appointed as *nagararakshaka* of the city of Girnar by his father Parṇadatta[28] who himself was the governor of the province of Surāshṭra. Therefore, it is apparent that the *nagararakshakas* (mayor of the cities) were appointed by the governor of the province concerned under the Guptas.

Fortunately, the Junagarh rock inscription[29] of Skandagupta mentions the following qualifications of a *nagararakshaka* (mayor of the city): valour, generosity, self-control, high spiritedness, civility, handsomeness, patience, acquittance of debts and obligations, firmness and capability of punishing vicious people etc.

The above inscription also informs us that Chakrapālita was appointed after proper scrutiny of his qualifications. It was difficult to find a person having all these qualifications, but an effort was made to appoint a fairly competent person on the above post. Thus it would be noted that special stress was laid on discipline and self-control in the qualities of a *nagararakshaka*. He was expected to think of the good of all people residing in the city without any exception and they were to be pleased and protected by him by his efficient administration.[30] Besides, he was to serve as a worthy refuge to the people who sought it and was to be popular among his people (*priyo janasya*) which quality he was never to neglect.[31] He had to curb criminals and undesirable characters.[32] It is quite probable that the Mayor was assisted by a popular council called *adhishṭhāna-adhikarṇa* in the administration of city.[33] The municipal board consisted principally of four members, namely the president of the guild of traders of the city (*nagaraśreshṭhi*), the chief artisan (*prathamakulika*) and the chief scribe (*prathamakāyastha*).[34]

The town administration during early medieval period seems to have been carried out by royal officer with the help of committees.[35] From the Sīyadoṇi record it appears that during Pratīhāra times some sort of municipal government was known. For it tells us that the town affairs were managed by an assembly of five called *Pañchakula* and by a committee of two members appointed from time to time by the town.[36] *pattanādhikāra-purusha* was officer incharge of town.[37] The *Pañchakula* consisted not necessarily of five but often of a larger number of representatives sent by different wards. It used to have an executive of its own which was called *vāra* in Rajaputana and central India during the Pratīhāra period.[39] The executive committee looked after all executive works, like collection of taxes, investment and recovery of public funds, and administration of trust fund etc.[40]

It is to be noted that important Chālukya cities were governed through three assemblies one for general affairs of the city as a whole, second comprising the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants dealt with their problems, while the third controlled and regulated matters relating to mercantile communities. Under the Rāshṭrakūṭa administration the towns were in charge of prefects who were designated as *purapatis* or *nagarapatis*.[41] Under the Yādavas, the cities were governed by *daṇḍanāyaka*. A record of Bhillama V refers to one *daṇḍanāyaka*[42] Vaijarsa administering as many as six cities. Very often incharge of cities were themselves military captains as was the case with ministers and district officers, with military ability as well.[43]

The above account enables us to infer that :

1. The practical work of administration of cities was carried on by an officer with the help of committees, who within the sphere of his activity exercised civic powers. Town committees formed a common feature of ancient Indian administration.
2. The chief officer of the city was expected to be highly qualified so that he might run administration smoothly. He was supposed to have literary qualifications, military and administrative ability.
3. Sometimes big towns were divided into wards and each ward sent its own members to the committee. The number of members of the executive committee varied according to the need of each case. They looked after all the executive functions of the city.
4. There were market towns and ports known as *vattana* or *pattana*. They were centres of commerce and trade. Merchants also played a significant role in the administration of city.

5. As compared to the provincial and district administration, that of the towns seems to be much more free from the control of imperial authority. Thus there was a good deal of local autonomy.

Thus city administration in ancient India to a great extent met the civic and local needs. There may not be replication and continuity, but it was well practised in succeeding regimes. The Kotwal system of Mughal period was culmination of older practices. With the advent of the British, the old system was wrapped under the western garb. The British studied our history and imposed their system, initially for their own benefits and later on for the benefits of local people *i.e.* native Indians. Several features of modern Indian city administration are modified forms of their ancient counter parts.

Notes And References

1. A city or town was called *pura*, *nagara*, *śākhānagara* (suburban town), *paṭṭana* (port town), *puṭabhedana* etc. *Agni Purāṇa*, 363. 4-5. In ancient times the word *pura* was mostly used for city.
2. Rapson, E. J. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi., p.179; Davids, Rhys, *Buddhist India*, pp.34ff.
3. Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India, Motilal Banarsidas*, Varanasi, 1949, p.220.
4. *Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1965, p.176.
5. *Ṛigveda*, i.114.1; i.44.10.
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7. See Mookerji, R. K., Hindū-Sabhyatā (Hindi), Raj Kamal Prakashan, Delhi, p.305.
9. *Arthaśāstra*, ii.36.
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12. See Shama Sastri, R., The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Eng. trans.), 5th ed. Raghuveer Printing Press, Mysore, 1956, p.164.
13. Saletore, B. A., *Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p.357.
14. Dhauli inscription in P. L. Gupta's, *Prāchīna Bhārata Ke Pramukha Abhilekha*, I, 1996, p.45.
15. Sastri, K. A. N., *Nanda-Maurya Yugīna Bhārata* (Hindi), Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1987, p.256.

16. See Dhauli inscription.
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20. *Arthaśastra*, ii.36.
21. Basham, A. L., *The Wonder that was India*, Rupa & Company, 1991, p.105.
22. See Jayaswal, K.P., *Hindu Polity*, The Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co. Bangalore, 1955, p.241.
23. Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, VIth edition, University of Calcutta, 1953, p.284, fn.5.
24. See *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, p.73. Also see Sharma R.S., *Prāchīna Bhārata men Rājanītika Vichāra evam Sansthāyen*, (Hindi), Kamal Prakashan, New Delhi, 1990, p.273.
25. See Jayaswal, K. P., *op.cit.*, p.251.
26. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p.304, verse 20. The same term is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii.109.45. He has been listed in the list of *tīrthas*. In the *Manusmṛiti* (vii.121) the chief officer of the city is called *sarvārthachintaka*. In the *Mahābhārata* a superintendent of city is expected to know everything concerning his job. See Beni Prasad, *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1974, p.50. *The Sangama* literature *refers to nagarakshaka* (*ūrakavalara)* appointed for the protection of the city. See Mishra, S. M., *Dakshiṇa Bhārata Ka Rājanaitika Itihāsa*, second ed. Vishwa Prakashan, Delhi, 1995, p.45). Also Somadeva (*Kathāsarita sāgar*, 275.168) makes *nagarādhyaksha* responsible for the protection of city.
27. Guṇaighar copper-plate inscription of Vainyagupta, Sircar, *op.cit.*, p.333, line, 16.
28. *ibid.*, p.304, verse 20.
29. See Junagarh inscription.
30. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p.303, verse 15.
31. *Ibid*, p.304, verse 24.
32. *Ibid.*
33. The Pahārpur copper-plate dated in the (Gupta) year 159 (A.D. 479) records that a certain Brāhmaṇa named Nāthaśarman and his wife approached the district officer (*āyuktaka*) and city council (*ādhishthāna-adhikaraṇa*) headed by the Mayor at Puṇdravardhana, with a request to donate a certain money for offerings to the *Arhats*. The council agreed and recorded the transfer of the land to the temple. See Seletore, B.A., *op.cit.*, p.527-25.

34. *The Classical Age*, 1962, p.351; Thaplyal, K. K., *Guilds in Ancient India*, New Age International Ltd., New Delhi, 1996, pp. 107-109.
35. Munshi, K. M., *Glory that was Gurjara-Deśa* , Vol. II, Bombay, 1955, p.412.
36. *EI*, i, pp.170-177.
37. Tripathi, R.S., *History of Kanauj*, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1964, p.343.
38. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p.221.
39. *EI*, i, p.154, 173-79.
40. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p.222.
41. Some scholars are of the opinion that the position of *nagarapatis* in Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty was that of a feudatory king. During the reign of Amoghavarsha I, the incharge of Soṛtūra city was called *mahāsāmanta*. See Mishra, S. M., *Dakshiṇa Bhārata Kā Rājanaitika Itihāsa*, p.223.
42. *South Indian Epigraphical Reports*, 1933-34. BK-159.
43. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p.221.

IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION OF SOME HIMALAYAN PEAKS : REAPPRAISAL OF LITERARY EVIDENCES

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There is much substance in the observation that "nowhere else is the 'genius loci' so overwhelming as in the Himalaya mountain." This phenomenon is largely due to the outlasting of unbroken indigenous traditions preserving the saga and myths of this great mountain despite the frequency of tribal migrations and persistance pressure of wars. Without stretching any further the preamble of this paper, it would be worthwhile to point out that the Himalayan glory is eulogistically worded in a number of early literary works. Considering the spirit and span of the present paper it may not be desirable to give a comprehensive illustration of the passage of such works. We confine to excercise ourselves to locating and identifying the Kailāsa, the Gaurīśikhar (Gaurīśankar), the Gandhamādana and the Meru (Sumeru); which are described as the towering and sky-kissing peaks of this great mountain.

Kailāsa

Regarding the Kailāsa, it is pointed out that the present peak is possibly the Khang-rin-poche of the Tibetans situated about 40 kms. to the north of Mānasa-sarovara beyond Gangotri which is also called Darchin and to the east of Nīti-pass.[1] About its charming and inspirational appearance Stratchy observes that "in picturesque beauty Kailāsa far surpasses the big Gurla or any of the Indian Himalaya that I have ever seen; it is full of majesty, a king of the mountains."[2] N.L.Dey attempts to identify the Kiumbun range with Kailāsa.[3] This identification, according to B.S.Upadhyaya is a mistake.[4] On the other hand, The *Mahābhārata*[5] and The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[6] include Kumayun and Garhwal in the Kailāsa range. Kālidāsa appears to endorse this inclusion.[7] In his poems, Kālidāsa mentions at a number of places that Kailāsa is the abode of lord Śiva and Pārvatī.[8] On the basis of *Abhijñanaśākuntalam*[9] and the *Vikramorvaśīyam*,[10] B.S.Upadhyaya concludes that Hemakūṭa was yet another name of Kailāsa. It may be noted that allusion to Hemakūṭa is also available in chapter II of book two of

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the *Vishnu Purāṇa*. It is narrated that Agnīdhra appropriated Jambūdvīpa among his nine sons. He gave to Nābhi, the country called Himāhwa, situated south of Himavat or snowy mountain. In the immediate next verse the text refers to Hemakūṭa, which was the share of another son of Agnīdhara, named Kiṁpurusha. However, the *Purāṇa* does not provide any clue for the identification of Hemakūṭa with Kailāsa. In none of the non-*Purāṇa* texts do we find any reference to the country called Himāhwa. According to the *Purāṇa* tradition, that part of Jambūdvīpa to which name Bhārata or Bhāratavarsha is given, was originally known as Himāhwa. This nomenclature gained publicity owing largely to the fact that its ruling suzerain was Bharata, the son and successor of Ṛishabha.[11] It is, however, very difficult to be sure about the exact location of the Himāhwa country for want of adequate data on the point. It may be noted that the *Purāṇa*-account has, here, incorporated into it Jain tradition. The Jain-tradition relates that the first law-giver, Ṛishabha, found his *nirvāṇa* on Mt. Kailāsa, which the Jainas called Ashṭapada, the eight-footed. In accordance with the way of Jainism, while meditating Ṛishabha preferred to die by fasting. Ṛishabha's son was called Bhārata, recognized by all as the first universal ruler of India, who gave this country the name "Bhārata." The Jain-tradition also records that Bhārata had a temple built in commemoration of his father. The temple was of such magnificance that Bharata's sons feared its treasures to be stolen. They planned defensive measures and built ditches by rerouting Ganga. This raised the anger of the Nāga spirits who dwelt underground. Consequently Bharata appeased the Nāga king and had his grandson direct the Ganga back into its original river-bed. This story explains why Ganga is otherwise called Jahnu-kanyā or Jāhnvī and Bhāgīrathī after the son and grandson of Bharata.[12]

Gaurīśikhara/Gaurīśankara

Next important Himalayan peak to which allusion has been made in the *Kāvya* and Purāṇa traditions is theGaurīśikhara, also called Gaurīśankara. the *Kumārasaṁbhava* which gives a vivid description of the penance of Pārvatī applies the name Gaurī to her and narrates that the peak is so called because it was chosen by Gaurī (Pārvatī) for the observance of her penance.[13] The text of *Varāha Purāṇa* establishes synonymity between Gaurīśikhara, and Gaurīśaṅkara.[14] Attempt has been made to identify it with Mt.Everest in Nepal.[15] According to B. S. Upadhyaya, the proposed identification is doubtful for two obvious reasons.[16] In the first place locally it is not known by that name, and secondly its measurement by Captain Wood[17] has proved

beyond doubt that Mt. Gaurīśikhara or Gaurīśankara cannot be Mt. Everest.

Gandhamādana

As regards Gandhamādana, N. L. Dey points out that the said peak is a part of Kailāsa.[18] Allusion to Gandhamādana is made in a number of Purāṇas. thus *Vishṇu Purāṇa* relates that Gandhamādana was given to Ketumāla, the ninth son of Agnīdhra. It lay west of Meru.[19] The text of the *Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa*[20] reveals that the portion of Garhwal through which Alakananda flows is called Gandhamādana. Same description is available in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[20A] The *Kālikā Purāṇa* locates it on the southern side of the Kailāsa mountain.[21] The text of the *Varāha Purāṇa*[22] locates the site of Badarikāśrama on this mountain. Thus, a clear reference to the exact location of Gandhamādana is not available in the Purāṇas. On the other hand, as noted by B. S. Upadhyaya, Kālidāsa is explicit on this point. The celebrated poet locates Gandhamādana in the vicinity or rather in the very range of Kailāsa.[23] He also mentions the Mandākinī and Jāhnvī flowing through and watering it.[24]

Mandara

On the authority of some Purāṇa-passages N. L. Dey is inclined to identify Mandara with a hill in Banka sub-division of the district of Bhagalpur.[25] This proposition, however, does not correspond to the actual state of affairs. The tradition which is preserved in the *Mahābhārata*[26] places it in the vicinity of Kailāsa and Gandhamādana. As noted by B. S. Upadhyaya Kālidāsa seems to follow this tradition and places it in the Himalayas.[27] In the *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa describes that after his marriage with Pārvatī, Lord Śiva first stayed on the Meru and from Meru he proceeded to Mandara. From Mandara he moved to Kailāsa and Gandhamādana.[28] In the texts of the *Agni Purāṇa*[29] and *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*,[30] Mandara has been described as one of the Vishkambha parvatas or subjacent hills centring round the Meru, which is supposed to stand in the middle of Ilāvṛita, a highly elevated sub-continental region of Jambūdvīpa. The Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi describes Mandara, Himavat, and Meru as co-extensive mountainous ranges.[31] In poetic convention, Mandara was regarded as a symbol of valour and prowess, and naturally,therefore, it was linked with mythology in which imagination rather than actuality plays a vital role. Mandara is, thus, also described as the mountain utilized in churning the formidable milk-ocean for the acquisition

of nectar. This description, however, cannot place Mandara in south.

Meru/Sumeru

As regards Meru also known as Sumeru, it has rightly been observed that this hill has received a fabulous treatment in Sanskrit tradition.[32] It has made a conspicuous mark in the varied types of compositions of ancient India. Very often it is reduced to obscurity in mythical accounts. But sometimes ample scope is provided for its identification and physical location. In mythical accounts, it figures as a mountain of gold;[33] abode of supernatural beings like Vidyādharas, Kinnaras and Kimpurushas.[34] As regards its identification, N. L. Dey refers to *Mahābhārata*,[35] which gives the name Meru to a mountain in Śakadvīpa and equates it with Mt. Meros of Arrian near Mt. Nyasa.[36] According to Dey Nyasa is the same as the Neshadha of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.[37] As noted by B. S. Upadhyaya,[38] this identification would place Meru or Sumeru somewhere in the Pamirs. Without raising any serious objection against the proposed identification, it would be worthwhile to point out that the Purāṇic evidence is more distinct in this regard, and hence more reliable despite legendary touches. Thus, while locating Sumeru mountain, the text of the *Matsya Purāṇa*[39] relates that it is bounded on the north by Uttarakuru, on the south by Bhāratavarsha, on the west by Ketumāla and on the east by Bhāratavarsha. Almost in the same tone the text of the Padma Purāṇa,[40] relates that Gangā takes its rise from the Sumeru parvata and flows to the occean through Bhāratavarsha. Attention has also been drawn to a local tradition,[41] according to which the Kedāranātha mountain in Garhwal is the original Sumeru. Relying on a more popular tradition, Sherring[42] attempts to fix Mt. Meru direct to the north of the Almora district. Reference is also made to the passages of *Mahābhārata*[43] according to which Meru or Sumeru is the Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal, where Ganga has got its source. It is said to be situated near Badarikāśrama. It may be noted that the information which we gather from *Kumārasambhava*[44] is quite close to the above description. It is narrated that after his marriage with Pārvatī, Lord Śiva had his auspicious stay on Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa and Gandhamādana. These ranges are located on or in the neighbourhood of Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal.

Before concluding our note, it may be reiterated that, above, we have taken into account only a select few Himalayan peaks out of about 114 peaks marking the gigantic body of the great mountain wall formed by the Himalayas making it admirable and almost impregnable defensive rampart of India.

References

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5. *Mahābhārata*, Chapters, 144,156.
6. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, chapter 51.
7. *Vikramorvaśī* (ed. S. P. Pandit), p.87; Fraser, Himalaya mountains, p.470.
8. *Raghuvaṁśa*, ii.30;iv.8; *Kumārasambhava*, vii.30; viii.24.
9. *Abhijñana Śakuntala*, Act 7.
10. *Vikramorvaśī*, p.38.
11. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Purvabhāga, xxxiii.52; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ii.1;xxvii.1,32.
12. *Asiatic Researches*, xviii, p.282.
13. अथानुरूपाभिनिवेशतोषिणा
    कृताभ्यनुज्ञा गुरुणा गरीयसा।
    प्रजासु पश्चात्प्रथितं तदाख्यया
    जगाम गौरी शिखरं शिखण्डिमत्।। *Kumārasambhava*, Sarga,5.
14. *Varāha Purāṇa*, chapter 215.
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20. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, chapter 57.
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21. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, chapter 82.
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23. कैलासशिखरोद्देशम् गन्धमादन वनम् *Vikramorvaśī*, p.87.
24. ततस्तत्र मन्दाकिनीतीरे सिकतपर्वते, *ibid*, p.87. हंस धवलोत्तरच्छद जाह्नवीपुलिनदर्शनम्, *Kumārasambhava*, viii.82.
25. Dey; *op.cit.*, p.124.
26. Anuśāsanaparva, chapter 19; Vanaparva, chapter 162.

27. Upadhayaya, *op.cit.*, p.5.

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29. *Agni Purāṇa*, chapter 207.

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34. *Kumārasambhava*, i.7.14.

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37. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, chapter 35.

38. Upadhyaya, *op.cit.*, p.6.

39. *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapter 113.

40. *Padma Purāṇa*, chapter 128.

41. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xvii, p.361.

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WILD LIFE IN INDIA : A STUDY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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India is subcontinental in dimension and biological content. The great biological diversity due to a tremendous variety of ecological habitats is estimated to include 45,000 species of plants and 65,000 species of animals. This biota is not only our wild genetic treasure, but also a part of our rich cultural heritage. It should be wisely preserved at all costs for human survival since all forms of life - human, animal, plant and microorganisms are so closely interlinked to one another that disturbance in one gives rise to imbalance in others. The inter-relationship of all beings has been traditionally well understood in our country. Reverence for life is part of the national ethos. Aśoka's Lion is our national symbol, together with the lotus. Peacock is our national bird and sacred groves exist in most parts of our country.

Wild Life in Ancient Period

Mehargarh in Baluchistan has so far yielded the earliest evidence of the domestication of animals in pre-Harappan neolithic phase assigned to c.5000 B.C., and tamed animals at this site included cattle, goat, sheep. (Allchin, 1980).

Animals also frequently figure on the Harappan seals, sealings, pottery and other objects. These include unicorn (a mythical/unidentifiable animal), bull, buffalo, elephant, antelope, dog, cat, bear, tiger, rhinoceros etc. Terracotta figurines of monkey and squarrel have also been found. Besides, dove, parrot, peacock, fowl and fishes are also depicted. (Lal, 1997).

In the Vedic period forests were regarded as abodes of spiritual solace and the concept of preserving forests and wild life developed around the hermitages *(āśramas)* of the sages. These forest based *āśramas* propagated forest culture and human understanding of the fundamental ecological utility of forest ecosystems as also their economic importance which led to trees and animals being treated with veneration. The *vānaprasthīs* (forest dwellers) and *sanyāsīs* (who completely renounced worldly life) who lived and meditated in the midst of trees, rivers, mountains, animals, birds, developed a way

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of life which believed in the coexistence and interdependence of all forms of life. The main features of the cultural heritage (Bahuguna, 1985) are as follows:

i. There is life in all creations-trees, birds, beasts, human beings, rivers and mountains.

ii. All life is sacred and is to be worshipped. Manifestations and creations of nature like the earth, sky, sun, water, forests etc were regarded as deities.

iii. Austerity and wisdom were respected.

In the *Ṛigveda* there are references of some Himalayan birds such as the falcon which was known as śyena. Also there are references of the eagle (garuḍa or suparṇa) and peafowl (mayur). The *Ṛigveda* mentions 21 species of mayur and some of them like Himalayan pheasant or monal, koklass pheasant, chir pheasant and red jungle fowl are confined only to the Himalayas. Other birds like the goose (raj hansa), grey lag (kadamb hansa), quail (vartika), owl (ulūka) and the vulture (gridhra) have also been mentioned. In the *Ṛigveda* there is a reference of some Himalayan species of partridge and the common hill partridge. The food of the bird consists of grain, grass, weeds, seeds and tender shoots, but they also relish white ants and other insects (Ghildial and Sharma, 1985).

With the advent of nomadic Aryans, the emphasis shifted to their anthropomorphic gods, though the sanctity of animals was maintained through myths investing them with divine parentage.

The *Atharvaveda* (xix.6.11-14; Mishra, S. M.) tells us that cattle-breeding was introduced by Pṛithivaiṇya and domesticated as well as wild animals were born from the Yajña Purusha. Vedic people regarded Pūshan as pastoral god (*Ṛigveda* x.17.2) and Araṇyānī as forest goddess (Basham, 1991). Brahmā the Creator, himself assumed animal form. His consort became a cow, he a bull, and from their union sprang horned cattle. The status of animals was enhanced in the mythology of Vishṇu, the Preserver. He reincarnated once as a fish, once as a tortoise and once as a boar to save the world at various points in its precarious existence. Animals also became the mounts of Hindu gods to project the character of the deity e.g. Nandi, the bull mount of Śiva reflects his legendary verility. Vishṇu soars above the earth on garuḍa, the golden eagle-hawk. A sense of power and strength is associated with garuḍa.Kārtikeya, god of war, has a peacock for his mount because of its formidable ability to kill snakes.

Rāmāyaṇa starts with the scene where the poet is inspired to compose poetry for the first time in his life on witnessing the killing of a pair of cranes in copulation by a member of a hunting tribe. Such a killing was strictly against the prevailing ethical code.

The potent zoomorphic forms were absorbed into the pantheon of different religions and ascribed different degrees of consequence. Such was the apotheosis of animals that they were even woven into Buddhist and Jaina myths. The abiding sacredness of animals was rooted in a deep sence of identification and was derived from the theory of transmigration according to which the soul moves back and forth between different modes of existence-animal human and superhuman. This belief was extended by the corresponding belief that all forms of life partake equally in the universal life force, a belief that was reinforced by Buddhist and Jaina teachings. These religions also introduced the concept of ahimsā (non violence) prohibiting harm to any living being.

The sources of the Mauryan period (c.322 B.C.-185 B.C.) particularly Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Indica* of Megasthenese and some inscriptions of Aśoka provide more valuable information about wild life. In the list of 18 superintendents mentioned by Kauṭilya are included the superintendents of forests (*kupyādhyaksha*), slaughter houses (*śūnādhyaksha*), and of cattle, horses and elephants (*Arthaśāstra*, ii.chapters 17, 26, 29-31). The duty of the superintendent of forests was not only to start productive work in forest but also to fix adequate fines and compensations to be levied from those who caused any damage to productive forests except in calamities. The superintendent of slaughter houses was to see that no person entrapped, killed or molested deer, bison, birds, fish, elephants, horses, bulls and asses which were declared to be under state protection. Those who violated the above rule were to be punished with the first amercement. Butchers were not permitted to slaughter cattle, such as the calf, the bull or milch cow. Kauṭilya has referred to 8 types of elephants and to elephant forests which were to be protected by the superintendent of forests.

The Mauryan monarch Aśoka made very significant contribution in preservation of wild life. He drastically restricted the large scale killing of animals and birds for daily consumption in the royal palace and permitted the killing of only two peacocks and one deer for the purpose (R.E.I,Sircar, D. C. 1942). He banned *vihāra yātrās* during which hunting was also resorted to (R,E.8, Sircar) and provided medical facilities to animals not only in his own empire but also in the dominions of other rulers of India and 5

foreign countries (R.E.2,Sircar). In his 26th year after coronation, the killing of the following creatures was prohibited: parrot, maina, adjutants, the ruddy goose, the swan, the nandimukha, the gelata, the beet, the queen ant, the terrapin,the boneless fish, the partridge, the Gangetic water cock, the gilt edge, fish, the tortoise, the porcupine,the squirrel,the stags, the bull, the monkey, the dotted antelope, white dove, the domestic doves and all quadrupeds which are neither utilized for food nor eaten. He also proclaimed that a she goat or a she pig either pregnant or with milk shall not be slaughtered. Husks with living creatures shall not be burnt, forest fire shall not be lit unnecessarily and with a view to kill living beings. One living being shall not be nourished by sacrificing another living being. Fish shall not be killed nor sold on *Chaturmāsī* days, on Tishya nakshatra day, on full moons and on the 14 th, 15th and the first day of each fortnight and invariably on every day on which a fast is observed. And on the same days other animals that have their abode in the Nāgavana (elephant park) or in the preserve of the fisher folk also shall not be killed. On the 8th day of both fortnights, on the 14th and 15th days of Tishya nakshatra and Pūrṇavasu nakshatra, on the 3rd *Chaturmāsī* days and other festivals bulls shall not be castrated; not he goats, rams, boars and other animals which are usually castrated (P.E5, Sircar).

Megasthenes says that the Indian soil is very fertile, consequently it is rich in vegetation which in turn affords shelter to innumerable beasts and birds of all kinds (*Kalota, 1978*). He has mentioned the elephants, their bulk and longevity and the manner in which they were caught. He has also referred to the presence of horses and of a peculiar horse which is one horned and has the head of a deer. This animal, however, cannot be indentified today. Then animals like tigers, rhinoceros, apes, monkeys and wild asses, fishes like the electric eel, whale, herukes and prickly fishes, birds like the parrot, peacocks, ring doves, kelas and hoopoe have also been referred to. He has also mentioned the gold digging ants, tortoise and land tortoise. The flesh of the land tortoise is far more sweet than the tortoise found in the rivers, says Megasthenes.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (first half of the seventh century) has mentioned various types of forests and has given vivid details of animals like deer, horses, elephants, wolves, rhinoceros, black leopards etc. (Beal, 1973).

Thus before the Muslim invasions of India, wild life enjoyed protection through religious sentiments and its preservation had become a part and

parcel of Indian culture and tradition. But in this context it is relevant to point out that hunting of animals and birds was one of the favourite pastimes of Indian users which continued to cause unimense loss to their lives. And the rulers like Asoka who banned it, were few and far between.

Wild life in the medieval period

The foundations of Muslim power in India, laid at successive stages by the Arabs, the Ghaznavids and the Ghoris, culminated in the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526 A.D.). In 1271 A.D. Marco Polo, a young Venetian traveller left Venice on a voyage of discovery. He has mentioned the wild animals of India like elephants, rhinoceros and great striped cat.

In 1526 Babur founded the Mughal Empire. Much interesting information about Indian wild life is given by him in his *Babur Nāmā* memoirs. The *Ain-i-Akbari* written by Abul Fazal is also an important source of information for the fauna during the Mughal Period. *Ain-i-Akbari* has mentioned (Fazal) that animals like, "elephants, lions, leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, wolves and dogs of various breeds, and hyaenas, jackals, foxes, otters, cats, and other kinds of animals are numerous. Amongst the birds that *Ain-i-Akbari* has mentioned are parrots of different colours, red, white and green.

The Mughal king Jahangir in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* has referred to antelope, black buck, wild ass, zebra, elephant, tiger and lion. His description of the wild ass is very interesting. "The wild ass is exceedingly strange in appearance." He was a keen obserer of birds and has given an engrossing acount of the bird life.

Mughal kings like their Indian counterparts were also responsible for destroying wild life. They were fond of hunting and had preserved certain forests for the royal game. Jahangir had killed 276 antelopes during his seven day hunting spree. About Akbar, Jahangir has mentioned that with his gun he killed 3000 or 4000 birds and beasts (*ibid*).

During the medieval period which was marked by a series of invasions from the north, the local people fled to the forests for protection and they cleared them for agriculture and in many cases practised shifting cultivation, thus destroying wild life. This period was also marked by considerable internal strife which resulted in the local people fleeing to the more inaccessible areas and settling in the forested tracts. This must have led to further deterioration of forests and fauna.

The British period

The British developed a keen interest during the latter half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century in the valuable woods of the Indian forests. Some of the famous ships in Nelson's fleet at Trafalgar had been built by the famous Bombay shipbuilders, the Wadias, Indian teak replacing the English Oak. Despite steps taken by the British in the early 19th century to regenerate forests, in the long run they encouraged agriculture at the expense of forests rather than as complementary to them. This short-sighted policy did immense damage to forests and wild life. Destruction of wild life was done by the British administrators who used to emulate the lifestyle of the Indian nawabs, kings and feudal chiefs for whom to kill big game was a status symbol and a display of their macho. Game animals and birds were quite plentiful in the early days of the British rule. Thereafter the decline set in from about the middle of the 19th century and gained further momentum with the increase in the variety of sporting weapons and equipment and the development of the large bore rifle by Baker in 1840 and express rifle by Forsyth in 1860.

Many of the early British army officers, civil servants and tea planters in India took heavy toll of wild life. In Kathiawar, a cavalry officer was reported to have shot as many as 80 lions, while on one occasion 14 lions were shot in the Gir forests within 10 days. Their numbers were further depleted by large scale poaching. Ultimately the situation became so alarming that on a report in 1913 from Willinger, the then District Forest Officer, Junagadh State, wrote that there were only 6 to 8 lions left in an area of 1.893 sq.km., Rendall, the administrator, imposed a total ban on lion shooting. As a result of this timely protection, this species was saved from total extinction (Rao *et.al,, 1961*).

In central India a particular British sportsman shot over 500 tigers during his 21 years stay in the country. Again from 1850 to 1854, a railway official killed 100 tigers in Rajputana. One Maharajah is known to have shot 616 tigers during his life time, and another over 1,100 tigers. There are many more such examples from the different parts of the country (*ibid*). But there were certain feudal states like the Tehri Garhwal State where wild life and its management were given due importance. Rules were framed to protect wild life. (Rawat, 1989) :

1. "There is a ban and strict action will be taken against :

(a) Killing animals and birds during snow, especially those animals and birds who have taken refuge in dwelling houses owing to the cold during winter season.

(b) Smearing poison on the dead bodies of animals so that other animals fall prey to this trap.

(c) Shooting animals from vehicles except for tigers and bears before dawn and after dusk.

(d) Chasing deers with hounds and killing them.

(e) Hunting animals from 'machans' except for bears, boars and tigers with the aid of artificial light.

(f) Trapping animals and killing them.

(g) Killing animals in wild life sanctuaries.

2. No person is entitled to shoot animals or birds within the limits of a reserved forest without obtaining a shooting licence : This licence shall be issued by the Durbar and in the licence the area of forests in which the hunter has been permitted to shoot will be clearly indicated.

3. It is the foremost duty of the Forest Department of the State to protect animals and birds found above 7000 ft., (1,993.6m) e.g. munal, kastura, white and red bear etc. There is also a ban against the killing of birds which are recognized for dancing and singing.

4. Due precautions will be taken by the Forest Department against destruction of eggs and nests of birds.

5. Unless the hunter cannot clearly distinguish a male from a female, he will not shoot at that animal during mating season.

6. From Ist April to 14th October, no licences shall be issued for hunting animals and birds.

7. The use of dynamite in killing fishes is not permitted."

As early as 1901 an article was published in the 'Indian Forester.' The author has pointed out that".... It is an accepted fact that the possession of firearms, in the hands of professional hunters, is at the bottom of the destruction of big game in the Central Provinces and in various other parts of India." He also blames the administrators for the destruction of big game (Tom, 1901).

Forest legislations regarding wild life

The first British officer who thought of protection of wild life was one Captain Rogers. The trade in lizards had developed considerably in the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th century. In 1931 for Bengal a decision was taken that there should be complete protection of immature lizards, while for mature lizards a close season should be prescribed (*Anon, 1931*). However, the first Act which was passed by the British Government in India was for the preservation of wild elephants. It was known as 'The Elephants Preservation 1879.'

In 1935, through the efforts of some wild life enthusiasts, Government of India held a conference on wild life which resulted in some concrete measures for the protection of wild animals and birds. A number of sanctuaries for wild life were established in some of the states during this period *e.g.* Corbett National Park in U.P., Kanha in Madhya Pradesh, Kaziranga in Assam and Mudumalai in Madras etc. (*Anonymous, 1967*). Corbett National Park is the first National Park of India which was established on August 8, 1936. The possibility of creating a game sanctuary in this area was first mooted in 1907, but it was rejected outright. In 1916 and 1917 respectively two forest officers E. R. Stevens and his successor E. A. Smythies proposed a similar idea of creating a sancturay in this area, but the proposal was turned down. However, it was only later when Smythies was conservator that he consulted Major Jim Corbett, regarding the possible boundaries for a proposed national park. Fortunately Jim Corbett was very friendly with Hailey the Governor. Together they fished in the Nainital lake, and in the surrounding lakes lower down, especialy Bhimtal. One of their favourite spots, was on the Ramganga river, west of the township of Ramnagar in district Nainital. It was as a result of fishing trips that Hailey, prodded by Corbett and advised by the forest officers, started to think about setting up in the forest of Ramaganga valley, a wild life preserve. In London in 1933, a wild life convention was held which outlined the needs for reserves as well as starting to define hunting and trading laws for wild animals. In 1934, over three hundred square kilometre of the forests in the Ramganga river valley area were deemed to be a sanctuary in which all hunting was prohibited for five years. In the following year the United Provinces National Parks Bill was approved and the reserve was established on a permanent basis on August 8, 1936 (Booth, 1986).

The post-independence period

The years of Second World War and those that immediately followed

brought devastation to forests and wild life. The problem of food production assumed paramount importance which resultantly cleared vast forest tracts and gun licences were issued indiscriminately for the protection of crops from wild animals and birds regarded as vermin. In 1952, the Government of India set up the Indian Board for Wild Life to advise it on all matters pertaining to wild life. The Indian Board for Wild Life has been responsible for a number of important measures in the conservation of wild life, such as complete protection of rare species, both birds and animals and the creation of sanctuaries and National Parks for wild life. According to Sinclair (1989), in India at present there are 55 National Parks and 247 Sancturies constituted under the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972. The total area covered by these protected places is about 1,00,000 sq.km. which is about 3% of the total land area and about 12% of the total forest area. According to the newspaper, "Times of India' 26th April 1989, India has 63 National Parks and 358 sanctuaries covering an area of about 133,300 sq.km. The conservation movement owes a lot to the Bombay Natural History Society, which is carrying out field natural history projects to evolve management strategies for wild habitats." Other organizations which are doing commendable work are the Wild Life Preservation Society of Dehradun and the Bengal Natural History Society.

The idea of Biosphere Reserve was initiated by UNESCO in 1973-74 under the Man and Biosphere Reserve Programme. The guidelines emphasize:

1. Representativeness of major ecosystems.
2. Presence of core areas with little human interference surrounded by zones of buffer and manipulation which permit conservation study, research, education and training.
3. Dissemination of data and information.

After the first International Biosphere Reserves Conference at Minsk in 1983, an action plan was drawn up with cooperation of the UNESCO, FAO, UNEP and IUCN. This has a minimum set of activities :

1. Baseline inventories of flora and fauna and their uses.
2. Monitoring
3. Preparing a history of research
4. Establishing research facilities and research programmes.
5. Establishing training and research programmes
6. Preparing management plan for biosphere reserves

Very recently a new concept of Biosphere Reserve has been evolved. In 1979, India began preliminary work in this direction and World Conservation Strategy in India was launched by Mrs. Indira Gandhi on 6th March 1980.

In september 1986, the country's first biosphere reserve was set up in the Nilgiri. Subsquently six others have been set up *viz* : Manas, Nanda Devi, Great Nicobar, Nokrek, Sunderbans and the Gulf of Mannar. In essence, the biosphere reserve is the management of a large portion of a typical biogeographical zone as a single conservation unit by demarcating the area with a core zone (with no human interference), a buffer zone (with little human interference), a manipulative zone, a restoration zone and a tourism zone.

Concluding remarks

Scientific management of wild life is still in its infancy in India. Census of only a few rare species has been done and that too in restricted areas such as National Parks and Sanctuaries. The ecological status of many of our species is not known. Fortunately, somewhere from within this grim picture are emerging signs of renewed awareness of which there are several classic examples like the saving of the Silent Valley's rain forest in Kerala from the jaws of a hydel project, the famous 'Chipko' of hugging the trees movement in Garhwal where women prevented contractors from exploiting already degraded forestlands, the protection of nests of the rare black-necked crane, the declaration of Pinotan as india's first Marine National Park and many others. But to sustain this sense of conservation and environmental consciousness the Government, the social activists and the environmentalists will have to cooperate and work as a team, and conservation should be thought of as a serious business deserving all consideration and planning.

The prime need of the hour is the creation of a sound public opinion in the direction of wild life conservation. Also national education system must reflect national and global concern, especially of ecological values.

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THE BEGINNING OF LEGENDS ON ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

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The earliest available coins of India, that is, the punch-marked coins, are uninscribed. Indians started inscribing their coins later on. There is some controversy regarding the origin of the Indian practice of engraving legends on coins. While one group of scholars feels that there was some foreign inspiration behind the beginning of this tradition, another group regards it as of indigenous origin. The purpose of this paper is to take a look at this problem of Indian numismatics, and try to reach a possible, or even a probable, conclusion in this regard.

The first invasion of India in recorded history was that of the Persians during the Achaemenian period. But as early Persian coins are anepigraphous,[1] they could not have influenced ancient Indian coins in respect of legends. However, the influence of the coins of the Greeks(of Greece Proper and of the Greek colonies in western Asia), Romans, Imperial Parthians(the Arsakids), and other foreign powers is visible on the legends found on early Indian coins.

There are some scholars who advocate the theory that the Indians started the practice of inscribing their coins under Indo-Greek influence.[2] But others reject this theory, and believe that the practice of inscribing coins was an indigenous development in India itself.[3] They hold that the earliest inscribed coins of India come from Eran,[4] and as, according to them, the coins are datable to the third century BC,[5] they antedate Indo-Greek coins; and as the city of Eran could not have had any possible contact with Greek coins,[6] Indians must have started inscribing their coins on their own. It has also been pointed out that one of the Eran coins[7] bears the legend *Dhamapālasa* in the negative way because the die-cutter was inexperienced and 'made the die in the positive so that the letters were impressed on the coin in the negative.'[8] Bela Lahiri feels that had 'the Indians learnt the method of inscribing coins from the monetary issues of the foreigners they would not have made this initial mistake which was corrected afterwards.'[9]

Possibly , the Indians did not learn the art of inscribing coins from the Indo-Greeks. The Takshaśilā coins bearing the legend *Hirañasame*[10] served

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as the prototype[11] for the *Hirañasame* coins of the Indian-Greek ruler, Agathokles,[12] and have rightly been dated earlier than the Indo-Greeks. It has been observed that the *Hirañasame* coins, as well as several other coins from Takshaśilā bear incuse impression. A similar incuse impression is also to be seen on the coins of only two rulers among the Indo-Greeks, namely, Pantaleon and Agathokles. On this basis, it has been concluded these coins from Takshaśilā are to be placed earlier than Pantaleon and Agathokles.[13] Again, the cast coins bearing legends like *Upagodasa*,[14] *Upātikyā*,[15] *Kādasa*,[16] *et cetera*, have been dated earlier than the Indo-Greek coins by some prominent scholars like Allan.[17]

Before rejecting outright foreign inspiration behind the adoption of the practice of inscribing coins by the Indians, we must take into consideration certain points :

1. The Greeks were inscribing their coins since quite early times, and there was a continuous flow of these coins into Afghanistan and borderlands of north-western India , even during the Achaemenian period, due to trade and commerce.[18]
2. The early Achaemenian *sigloi* were uninscribed, but the later coins of this type bear legend, perhaps on being 'inspired by the Greek numismatic art'.[19]
3. The Athenian 'owls', which were in circulation in Afghanistan and the frontier regions of north-western India,[20] bear the Greek legend *Athe* for 'Athens',the name of city, on the reverse.[21] This had become the fixed type of the city of Athens latest by the middle of the fifth century BC,[22] if not earlier.
4. Imitations of these 'owls' of Athens were struck locally in Afghanistan and the north-western borderlands of India during the Achaemenian period.[23]
5. Some of these imitation 'owls' bear the Greek legend *Aig* in place of *Athe* of the original Athenian coins.[24] B V Head interprets *Aig* as perhaps referring to the Aigloi, a people placed by Herodotos to the north of Bactria.[25] This would perhaps show that in some cases, people in these regions were not only imitating the 'owls' of Athens, but also introducing their tribal name on coins.[26]
6. In the Punjab region were found certain Attic silver *drachms* bearing

the legend *Sophytou* in the Greek script.[27] This Sophytes appears to be an Achaemenian satrap of the eastern province of that empire, and issued coins during the decline of the power of the Achaemenian dynasty.[28]

7. The inscribed coins from Takshaśilā in north-western India were placed by Allan in the first quarter of the second century BC.[29] But this date is believed to somewhat late, for the Hirañasame coins of Takshaśilā, as seen above, served as prototype for the Hirañasame coins of the Indo-Greek ruler, Agathokles (*circa* 180 BC - 165 BC). Cunningham would seem to refer these coins in third century BC as he regards the script of these pieces as Aśokan.[30] But Rapson places at least the Dojaka-*negama* coins[31] at the beginning of the fourth century BC,[32] perhaps because out of the Dojaka-*negama* coins of Takshaśilā illustrated by Allan, one has the Brāhmī legend in the reverse order,[33] which has been taken to point to an earlier date.

8. Thus, it would appear that these coins from Takshaśilā should be regarded as the earliest inscribed coins of India, instead of the inscribed coins of the *madhyadeśa* (like Eran, Kauśāmbī, *et cetera*) which seem to be datable to the second century BC.

From the above, it seems that inscribed Greek coins were familiar in Afghanistan and north-western India, and people of these regions were not only imitating these inscribed coins, but were also sometimes introducing their tribal names on these imitation Greek coins during the Achaemenian period. An Achaemenian satrap of the Punjab region struck coins bearing his name after the Greek fashion of inscribing coins. Therefore, it is not surprising that Indian inscribed coins appear for the first time at Takshaśilā in north-western India, the region most prone to foreign influence , and not in the *madhyadeśa*. As we saw, the inscribed coins from the interior regions of India are, perhaps, later than the inscribed coins from Takshaśilā. Although Allan has dated the Eran coins bearing the legend *Dhamapālasa* to the third century BC,[34] and this has been accepted by a number of scholars, I would like to point out that the Eran region was under the Mauryas in the third century B.C., and it is a well-known fact that these Mauryas were ardent believers in a strong centralized government. Is it possible that in the third century BC during the rule of the Mauryas, there existed some local king at Eran, who was issuing coins bearing his own name? As there is not much

possibility of this, these coins would have to be placed somewhat later perhaps in the second century BC. The same can not be argued against dating the inscribed coins from Takshaśilā to the third century BC, as they were not issued by any king but by *nigamas*.[35] Then there is also the view of Rapson,[36] that some of the inscribed *negama* coins from Takshaśilā might belong to even the beginning of the fourth century BC, as seen earlier, much before the rise of the Mauryas.

K P Jayasawal [37] has tried to read initials of the names of some Maurya emperors on some punch-marked coins from Magadha. Some scholars regard the symbols on punch-marked coins as pictographs and have tried to decipher them by adopting the *Tāntrika Bījamantra* system.[38] But both these attempts to regard punch-marked coins as inscribed money do not seem to be based on solid ground,[39] and, as such, these punch-marked coins from *madhyadeśa* can not be regarded as the earliest inscribed monetary issues of India.

It is, therefore, likely that the ancient Indians, like the Achaemenians, started inscribing their coins under Greek influence.

Notes And References

1. Cf Seltman, Charles, *Greek Coins* (London, 1955), pp.62ff.
2. See Chakrabortty, S.K., *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Mymensingh, 1931), p.138; Sircar, D.C., *Early Indian Indigenous Coins (Calcutta*, 1970), p.6; Jaiprakash, 'On Ancient Indian Coin-legends', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (hereafter, *JNSI*), XXIII, p.245; Joshi, M.P, *Morphogenesis of Kuṇindas: A Numismatic Overview* (Almora, 1989), p.87,n 185; Goyal, S.R., *Indigenous Coins of Early India* (Jodhpur, 1994), p.50; etc.
3. Cf Lahiri, A.N., 'Impact of Foreign Coins on the Legends of Early Indigenous Issues', in Shastri, A M (ed), *Memoir of the Numismatic Society of India* (hereafter, MNSI), No 8 (Varanasi, 1982), p.69; Lahiri, Bela, 'India's Earliest Inscribed Coins: The City Issues', *JNSI*, XXXVIII(ii), p.35, and 'Foreign Elements in Local and Tribal Coins', in Shastri, AM(ed), *MNSI*, No 8, p.138.
4. Lahiri, A N, *op.cit.*, p.70: Lahiri, Bela, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1974), p.81.
5. Allan, J, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, in the British Museum, London* (London, 1936), p.140.
6. Lahiri, A.N., *op.cit.*, p.71.

7. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, pl, XVIII, 6.

8. Lahiri, Bela, in Shastri, A M(ed.), *MNSI*, No 8, p.138.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, p1. XXXIV, 7.

11. *Ibid.*, p.cxxxii.

12. Whitehead, R B., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, I, The Indo -Greek Coins (Oxford, 1914), p1.II.52.

13. See Dasgupta, C.C, *The Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script* (Calcutta, 1958), pp.23-27, on p.26.

14. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, p1.XXXV.18.

15. Cunningham, A, *Coins of Ancient India* (Indian Reprint, Varanasi, 1971), p1.VIII.2.

16. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, p1.XIX.14.

17. *Ibid.*, pp.xcii, cxIv, cx1vi.

18. Cf Narain, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957), p.4.

19. See Jaiprakash, *op.cit.*, p.245.

20. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Reprint, Patna, 1984), p.29. Cf Macdonald, G, in Rapson, E J(ed), *The Cambridge History of India*, I, (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1987), p.346; Narain, A K, *op.cit.*, p.4.

21. See Gardner, P, *History of Ancient Coinage* (700 BC-300 BC) (Oxford, 1918), p1. II.12.

22. Junge, Ewald, *World Coin Encyclopedia* (London, 1984), p.29.

23. See Bhandarkar, D. R., *op.cit.*, p.29. Cf Macdonald. G, *op.cit.*, p.346; Narain, *op.cit.*, p.4.

24. Rapson, E.J. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, I (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1987), p1. I.8.

25. Cf Macdonald, G, *op.cit.*, p.347; Narain, A.K., *op.cit.*, p.4, n 3.

26. It might be observed that the tribe normally would have put the legend in the Greek script if the head(s) of the tribe were acquainted with the script, and one can even say, if the people for whom the coins were issued were also acquainted with the Greek script and could understand that the Greek legend stands for the name of their tribe, Aigloi. But then, we have evidence of Greek colonies of the Thracians (?) at Nysa and of Branchidae in Sogdiana to the north of Bactria (Narain, A.K., *op.cit.*, p.3, and ns 4,5), and the people of Bactria and regions to the north of this province could have been familiar with the Greek script. Cf Schlumberger (*Trésors Monétaires d'*

Afghanistan, p.4, *vide* Narain, A.K., *op.cit.*, p.4, n 3) who regards all as denoting the name of a satrap.

27. Gardner, P. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum*, London (Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1971), p1. I.1. That these coins were found in the Punjab region by A Cunningham, see Macdonald, G, *op.cit.*, pp.347-348.
28. Narain, A.K., *op.cit.*, pp.4-5.
29. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, pp.cxxvii-cxxviii.
30. Cunningham, A, *op.cit.*, p.63.
31. Allan. J, *op.cit.*, p1. XXXI. 2-4.
32. *Indian Coins* (Strasaburg, 1897), pp.4, 6.
33. Allan, J, *op.cit.*, p1. XXXI. 4.
34. *Ibid.*, p.140.
35. Economic organizations (Bühler, G, *Indian Studies*, III (2nd ed.) (Strassburg, 1898), p.49; Cunningham, A, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV, p.20; Allan, J, *op.cit.*, p.cxxvi), or townships (Bhandarkar, D.R., *op.cit.*, pp.174-178).
36. *Indian Coins* (Strassburg, 1897), pp.4,6.
37. *Prooeedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1935, pp.11ff.
38. See Swami Sankaranand, *JNSI*, XII (i), pp.11ff.
39. See Jaiprakash, *op.cit.*, pp.242-244.

मथुरा का प्रारंभिक जैन प्रतिमा-विज्ञान

रामाश्रय अवस्थी*

प्राग्ैतिहासिक काल में जैन धर्म के रहे होने के विषय में निश्चित प्रमाण नहीं उपलब्ध है। मोहेंजोदड़ो से प्राप्त कुछ मुद्राओं पर एक मानव आकृति[1] तीर्थंकरों की कायोत्सर्ग मुद्रा के समान अवश्य खड़ी मिलती है। इसी प्रकार हड़प्पा से लाल पत्थर की एक निर्वस्त्र प्रतिमा का धड़ प्राप्त हुआ है,[2] जो लोहानीपुर (बिहार) से प्राप्त कायोत्सर्ग मुद्रा में खड़ी तीर्थंकर-प्रतिमा के धड़[3] से बहुत साम्य रखता है।

यदि जैन साहित्यिक परंपरा पर विश्वास किया जाए तो महावीर के जीवनकाल में ही उनकी खड़ी तपस्या करती हुई प्रतिमा चंदन की लकड़ी में उत्कीर्ण की गई थी।[4] मुकुट और आभूषण धारण कर खड़े तपस्या करते हुए महावीर की ऐसी जीवंतस्वामी प्रतिमाओं के निर्माण की परंपरा कालांतर में भी चलती रही, जैसा कि अकोटा (गुजरात) से प्राप्त ऐसी एक गुप्तकालीन कांस्य-प्रतिमा से सिद्ध है। इस प्रतिमा में गुप्तकालीन लिपि में लेख उत्कीर्ण है, जिसमें इसे जीवंतस्वामी की प्रतिमा बताया गया है।[5]

संभवतः मौर्यकाल से तीर्थंकर प्रतिमाएं बनने लगी थीं। इस काल की एक प्रतिमा का धड़ लोहानीपुर (बिहार) से प्राप्त हुआ है, जो निर्वस्त्र और कायोत्सर्ग मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है।[6] इसे तीर्थंकर प्रतिमा माना जा सकता है, यद्यपि इसके वक्षस्थल पर श्रीवत्स चिन्ह नहीं अंकित है। इसी प्रकार प्रिंस आव वेल्स संग्रहालय, मुम्बई की शुंगकालीन पार्श्वनाथ की कांस्य-प्रतिमा के वक्षस्थल में भी श्रीवत्स का अंकन नहीं है, किंतु इसमें पार्श्वनाथ का वैशिष्ट्य सर्पफणों का छत्र अवश्य प्रदर्शित है।[7] ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि तीर्थंकर की प्रारंभिक मूर्तियों में श्रीवत्स का अंकन नहीं हुआ, जिसका प्रारंभ मथुरा के शिल्पियों द्वारा प्रथम शती ई. में किया गया।

मथुरा में क्षत्रपकाल में जैन धर्मावलंबी स्तूप, चैत्यवृक्ष, धर्मचक्र, आयागपटों तथा मांगलिक प्रतीकों, जैसे श्रीवत्स चिन्ह, पद्म, मीन-मिथुन आदि की पूजा करते थे। कुषाण काल के प्रारंभ होते ही तीर्थंकर-प्रतिमाओं की पूजा भी प्रारंभ हुई। सर्वप्रथम आयागपटों के केंद्र में तीर्थंकरों की ध्यानस्थ लघु प्रतिमाएं अंकित हुईं। ऐसी एक प्रारंभिक प्रतिमा का उदाहरण प्रथम शती ई. के मथुरा के एक आयागपट[8] पर देखा जा सकता है। मथुरा में सर्वप्रथम इस लघु तीर्थंकर प्रतिमा में पार्श्वनाथ की विशेषता सर्पफणों का छत्र, प्रदर्शित हुई है। सर्पफणों से युक्त पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा अन्यत्र शुंगकाल में ही बन गई थी, जैसा कि उपर्युक्त प्रिंस आव वेल्स संग्रहालय, मुंबई की कांस्य-प्रतिमा से सिद्ध है।

तीर्थंकरों की स्वतंत्र मूर्तियां रचने में मथुरा-शिल्पी को अधिक समय नहीं लगा। मथुरा के कंकाली टीले के उत्खनन से कुषाणकालीन तीर्थंकर प्रतिमाएं प्रचुर संख्या में प्राप्त हुई हैं। इनमें निर्वस्त्र तीर्थंकर कायोत्सर्ग-मुद्रा में खड़े अथवा ध्यान-मुद्रा में आसीन हैं। तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियों के पादपीठों पर अंकित होने वाले पहचान-चिन्ह 'लांछन' का प्रादुर्भाव अभी नहीं हुआ। पहचान के लिए कुछ तीर्थंकरों की निजी विशिष्टताएं निर्धारित हुईं। पार्श्वनाथ के सिर के ऊपर सर्पफणों के छत्र बनाए जाने की विशिष्टता पहले ही प्रारंभ हो चुकी थी। इसके

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अतिरिक्त ऋषभनाथ की विशेषता निश्चित हुई। उनकी मूर्तियों में स्कंधों तक लटकती उनकी जटाएं दिखाई गईं। नेमिनाथ की मूर्तियों में बलराम और कृष्ण को उनके अगल-बगल प्रदर्शित किया गया। बलराम पांच सर्पफणों के छत्र से युक्त हैं। कभी-कभी वे अपने एक आयुध हल को भी धारण किए रहते हैं।[9] कुछ अन्य तीर्थंकरों संभवनाथ, मुनिसुव्रत, महावीर और सुमतिनाथ की पहचान उनकी प्रतिमाओं के लेखों में उल्लिखित उनके नामों के आधार पर ही हो सकी।[10] इस काल की अन्य तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियों की पहचान संभव नहीं है।

कुषाणकाल में मथुरा में ही सर्वप्रथम तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियों में प्रतिहार्यों (प्रभामंडल, चैत्यवृक्ष, उड्डीयमान विद्याधर या मालाधर, और चामरधर अनुचर), धर्मचक्र, मांगलिक चिन्हों और उपासकों के चित्रण प्रारंभ हुए। ध्यानस्थ तीर्थंकर सिंहासन पर आसीन दिखाए गए। सिंहासन के दोनों छोरों पर सिंह और बीच में धर्मचक्र प्रदर्शित हुआ। धर्मचक्र कभी-कभी स्तंभ के ऊपर स्थित भी दिखाया गया। तीर्थंकरों की हथेलियों पर धर्मचक्र और पैरों के तलुओं पर त्रिरत्न और धर्मचक्र जैसे मांगलिक चिन्ह भी बने। मथुरा संग्रहालय की एक पार्श्वनाथ मूर्ति के सर्पफणों पर स्वास्तिक, रत्नपात्र, त्रिरत्न, पूर्णघट और मीन-मिथुन भी अंकित हैं।[11] तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियों के पीछे प्रदर्शित प्रभामंडल अर्धचंद्राकृति किनारी से सुशोभित हैं।

कुषाणकाल में मथुरा में तीर्थंकर-प्रतिमा का एक और प्रकार भी चल पड़ा। इन प्रतिमाओं में चार दिशाओं की ओर मुख किए हुए चार तीर्थंकर दिखाए गए।[12] इन चार तीर्थंकरों में ऋषभ और पार्श्व की पहचान संभव है, शेष दो के नेमिनाथ और महावीर होने की कल्पना की जा सकती है। इन प्रतिमाओं को चौमुखी अथवा सर्वतोभद्रिका कहा गया।

गुप्तकाल में मथुरा के अतिरिक्त अन्य केंद्रों जैसे चौसा, राजगिरि, विदिशा, उदयगिरि, अकोटा, कहौम और वाराणसी में भी तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियां बनीं।[13] मथुरा में गुप्तकालीन तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियां कुषाणकालीन मूर्तियों की तुलना में कम मिली हैं। इस काल में तीर्थंकर प्रतिमा-विज्ञान में महत्वपूर्ण विकास हुआ। तीर्थंकर-मूर्तियों में अब लांछन-चित्रण का सूत्रपात हुआ (यद्यपि जैन साहित्य में लांछनों का उल्लेख सातवीं-आठवीं शती ई. से पहले का नहीं मिलता[14])। इस दृष्टि से राजगिरि और मथुरा की दो गुप्तकालीन मूर्तियां विशेष महत्व की हैं। राजगिरि की मूर्ति[15] में तीर्थंकर ध्यान-मुद्रा में सिंहासन पर आसीन हैं। सिंहासन के मध्य में खड़े हुए एक चक्रपुरुष और उसके दोनों ओर एक-एक शंख का चित्रण है। शंख नेमिनाथ का लांछन है। निस्संदेह तीर्थंकर की यह प्राचीनतम मूर्ति है, जिसमें लांछन का चित्रण हुआ है। इस दिशा में मथुरा के शिल्पी भी पीछे नहीं रहे। उन्होंने एक अन्य तीर्थंकर, अरनाथ, के लांछन मत्स्य का चित्रण इसी काल में प्रारंभ किया। लांछनयुक्त अरनाथ की एक मूर्ति राजकीय संग्रहालय, मथुरा में सुरक्षित है।[16] इस मूर्ति में तीर्थंकर सिंहासन पर ध्यान मुद्रा में आसीन हैं। सिंहासन के दो सिंहों के बीच मीन-मिथुन का अंकन है। वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल ने इसे उचित ही अरनाथ के (दिगंबर परंपरा के) लांछन मत्स्य का चित्रण माना है।[17] किंतु मारुतिनंदन प्रसाद तिवारी मीन-मिथुन के खुले मुखों से मुक्तावली प्रसारित होने के कारण इसे सिंहासन का सामान्य अलंकरण मानते हैं।[18] उन्होंने भारत कलाभवन, वाराणसी में सुरक्षित छठी शती ई. की एक ध्यान-मुद्रा में आसीन तीर्थंकर-मूर्ति की चरणचौकी के मध्य में चक्र के दोनों ओर उत्कीर्ण सिंहों को महावीर का लांछन (सिंह) माना है।[19] यह भी संभव है कि ये दो सिंह सिंहासन का बोध कराते हों। कुषाण और गुप्तकालों की ध्यानस्थ तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों में सामान्यत सिंहासन के दो सिंहों का चित्रण इसी प्रकार धर्मचक्र के दोनों ओर मिलता है। छठी शती ई. की एक तीर्थंकर प्रतिमा भी अजितनाथ का लांछन, गज अंकित हुआ प्रतीत होता है।

वाराणसी से प्राप्त यह प्रतिमा राज्य संग्रहालय, लखनऊ[19] में है।

मथुरा में नेमिनाथ की मूर्तियों में बलराम-कृष्ण के चित्रण की परंपरा कुषाणकाल में प्रारंभ हुई थी। गुप्तकाल में भी यह परंपरा चलती रही। मथुरा की गुप्तकालीन ऐसी एक मूर्ति राज्य संग्रहालय, लखनऊ[20] में विशेष दर्शनीय है। इसमें कायोत्सर्ग-मुद्रा में खड़े नेमिनाथ के अगल-बगल चतुर्भुज बलराम और कृष्ण प्रदर्शित हैं। बलराम पांच सर्पफणों के छत्र से युक्त हैं और अपने हाथों में मुसल, चषक और हल धारण किए हैं। इस काल में ऋषभ और पार्श्व का चित्रण पूर्व की भांति स्कंधों तक लटकती जटाओं और सर्पफणों के छत्र के साथ होता रहा। मथुरा में पार्श्व की अपेक्षा ऋषभ की मूर्तियां अधिक मिली हैं। राजकीय संग्रहालय, मथुरा में सुरक्षित कुछ मूर्तियां[21] दर्शनीय हैं। इनमें अलंकृत प्रभामंडल एवं पार्श्ववर्ती चामरधर से युक्त ऋषभ की लटें स्कंधों तक लटकती दिखाई गईं हैं। एक मूर्ति के पादपीठ में अंकित् लेख में ऋषभ के नाम का भी उल्लेख है।[22] एक अन्य मूर्ति में सिंहासन के मध्य में धर्मचक्र के दोनों ओर ध्यानस्थ जिन भी अंकित हैं।[23]

गुप्तकाल में सभी तीर्थंकर मूर्तियां कुषाणकालीन मूर्तियों की भांति निर्वस्त्र हैं और सभी के वक्ष में श्रीवत्स चिन्ह है। गुप्तकाल में अष्टप्रतिहार्यों का चित्रण सामान्य हो गया। (त्रिछत्र और दिव्यध्वनि को छोड़कर) प्रभामंडल अधिक अलंकृत बनाया गया। सिंहासन के मध्य में उपासकों से वेष्टित धर्मचक्र और उसके छोरों में लघु जिन प्रतिमाओं का अंकन प्रारंभ हुआ। सिंहासन के मध्य में धर्मचक्र के दोनों ओर दो मृगों के चित्रण की परंपरा भी इसी काल में प्रारंभ हुई। उदाहरण के लिए राजकीय संग्रहालय, मथुरा की एक मूर्ति[24] विशेष दर्शनीय है। इसमें सिंहासन के दो सिंहों के बीच धर्मचक्र और उसके दोनों ओर दो मृगों का अंकन है। सिंहासन के दोनों छोरों पर क्रमशः कुबेर और हारिति भी उत्कीर्ण हैं। पीछे की ओर नवगृहों में आठ (केतु को छोड़कर) अंकित हैं। धर्मचक्र के दोनों ओर दो मृगों का अंकन अकोटा (गुजरात) की ऋषभनाथ की कांस्य-प्रतिमा की चरणचौकी पर भी मिलता है। छठी शती ई. की इसी मूर्ति में यक्ष-यक्षी का चित्रण सर्वप्रथम हुआ। यक्ष-यक्षी सर्वानुभूति और अंबिका हैं जो द्विभुजी प्रदर्शित हैं। मथुरा में इस समय तक यक्ष-यक्षी के चित्रण का प्रादुर्भाव नहीं हुआ था, जो हुआ मध्ययुग में।

संदर्भ

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देवगढ़ की जैन प्रतिमाओं का वैशिष्ट्य

मारुति नन्दन प्रसाद तिवारी*

उत्तरप्रदेश के ललितपुर जिले में स्थित देवगढ़ जैनकला का एक अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण स्थल रहा है, जहां नवीं (862 ई.) से 14 वीं-15 वीं शती की जैन-मूर्तियों का विपुल भंडार सुरक्षित है। किसी समय इस स्थल पर 35 से 40 जैन मंदिर थे, किंतु वर्तमान में 31 जैन-मंदिर ही सुरक्षित हैं, जो विशाल आकार के न होते हुए भी प्रतीहार शैली के मंदिरों (ओसियां) के समान नागर शैली के सुंदर उदाहरण हैं। मूर्तिकला और जैन प्रतिमालक्षण की दृष्टि से देवगढ़ की जैन-मूर्तियों का विशेष महत्व रहा है। यहां लगभग 1000 से 1100 के बीच जैन-मूर्तियां हैं, जिनमें स्तंभों, प्रवेशद्वारों आदि की लघु आकृतियां सम्मिलित नहीं हैं।[1] देवगढ़ की जैन शिल्पसामग्री दिगंबर संप्रदाय से संबंधित है। इस स्थल के दोनों मुख्य मंदिर (मंदिर सं.12-शांतिनाथ मंदिर एवं मंदिर सं.15) 9वीं शती ई. के हैं। देवगढ़ की जैन-मूर्तियों, मंदिरों एवं अभिलेखों के अध्ययन से एक बात बहुत साफ तौर पर उभरती है कि बिना किसी सीधे शासकीय संरक्षण के इस कलाकेंद्र का विकास हुआ। वास्तव में इस स्थल पर मुख्यत: जैन संघ और आर्थिक दृष्टि से समृद्ध जैन समाज का लगभग 700 वर्षों तक विकसित होने वाले कलातीर्थ के विकास में योगदान रहा है।

इस स्थल पर तीर्थंकरों, यक्षियों, यक्षों, सरस्वती, लक्ष्मी एवं क्षेत्रपाल के अतिरिक्त ऋषभनाथ के पुत्र बाहुबली और भरत तथा जैन आचार्यों एवं उपाध्यायों की मूर्तियों का भी रूपायन हुआ है जिनमें वैविध्य भी है और नवीन प्रयोग या सर्जना भी हैं (चित्र 2-3)। मेरी दृष्टि में मथुरा के बाद जैन-मूर्तियों एवं प्रतिमालक्षण की दृष्टि से देवगढ़ संपूर्ण भारत में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण कलाकेंद्र था, जहां प्रचुर संख्या में और विविधता तथा नवीनताओं के साथ जैन-परंपरा के आराध्य देवों का रूपायन हुआ है। देवगढ़ में ही सर्वप्रथम नवीं शती ई. में मंदिर 12 यानी शांतिनाथ मंदिर (862 ई.) की भित्तियों पर 24 यक्षियों के सामूहिक अंकन का प्रारंभिकतम प्रयास किया गया (चित्र 1)। इसी स्थल पर बाहुबली की मूर्तियों में तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों के तत्वों का समावेश कर उनकी प्रतिष्ठा में वृद्धि का संकेत दिया गया और यहीं चक्रवर्ती पद का त्याग करने के बाद त्याग और साधना के मार्ग पर चलने वाले भरत की स्वतंत्र मूर्तियां बनीं (चित्र 5)। मथुरा की कुषाणकालीन परंपरा का विस्तार देवगढ़ की एक नेमिनाथ की मूर्ति (मंदिर 2, 11 वीं शती ई.) में हलधर बलराम और चक्रधर वासुदेव कृष्ण के शिल्पांकन के रूप में दृष्टव्य है। एक उदाहरण (मंदिर 1, 11 वीं शती ई.) में दो तीर्थंकरों के साथ त्रितीर्थी मूर्ति में चतुर्भुजा सरस्वती का रूपायन भी प्रतिमालक्षण की दृष्टि से विलक्षण है।

देवगढ़ में चक्रेश्वरी, रोहिणी, अंबिका एवं पद्मावती (चित्र 6) यक्षियों की सर्वाधिक मूर्तियां मिली हैं, जिनमें उन्हें दो से बीस भुजाओं वाला दिखाया गया है, जिनका स्वतंत्र अध्ययन प्रतिमालक्षण की दृष्टि से अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है। जैन आचार्यों के उपदेश और उपाध्यायों के शास्त्रार्थ से संबंधित उकेरन भी देवगढ़ की जैन-मूर्तियों का वैशिष्ट्य है, जिन्हें कभी-कभी

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द्वितीर्थी एवं त्रितीर्थी मूर्तियों में तीर्थंकरों के साथ भी दिखलाया गया है। देवगढ़ में शास्त्रीय परंपरा की अवमानना किए बिना भरत, बाहुबली एवं जैन आचार्यों तथा उपाध्यायों की मूर्तियों में तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों के तत्वों और तीर्थंकरों के साथ उनके उकेरन के माध्यम से जैन समाज की गतिशीलता को भी अभिव्यक्त किया गया है। जैन धर्म केवल तीर्थंकरों की श्रेष्ठता पर आकर ठहरा हुआ धर्म नहीं है, बल्कि उसमें त्याग और साधना के मार्ग पर चलने वाले बाहुबली और भरत की प्रतिष्ठा में निरंतर वृद्धि और उन्हें तीर्थंकरों के समकक्ष प्रतिष्ठित करने के प्रयास की नयी दृष्टि भी है, जो श्रेष्ठता के मार्ग को एक व्यापक परिवेश में पूरे समाज के लिए खोलता है। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता तो विशालतम मूर्तियां कभी भी बाहुबली की नहीं बनतीं, जो न तो तीर्थंकर थे और न ही उनका उल्लेख त्रिषष्ठिशलाका पुरुषों में हुआ है। यक्षियों की स्वतंत्र मूर्तियों की प्रचुरता स्पष्टत: उनके स्वतंत्र पूजन की परंपरा की साक्षी है, जो देवगढ़ में एक ओर वीतरागी तीर्थंकरों की उपासना और दूसरी ओर भौतिक जगत की आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति के साधन के रूप में यक्षियों की उपासना के साथ-साथ लोकमानस में स्वीकृत होने का प्रमाण है। प्रस्तुत लेख में मुख्य रूप से देवगढ़ के मंदिर 12 की 24 यक्षियों तथा बाहुबली और भरत चक्रवर्ती की मूर्तियों का अध्ययन ही अभीष्ट है, क्योंकि देवगढ़ की मूर्तियों के वैशिष्ट्य का विस्तार क्षेत्र बहुत व्यापक है और उसकी सम्यक् चर्चा के लिए एक स्वतंत्र ग्रंथ भी सर्वथा अपर्याप्त होगा। मंदिर 12 की 24 यक्षियां जैन परंपरा और कला में 24 तीर्थंकरों के बाद उनके शासन-देवताओं के रूप में मान्य 24 यक्ष और यक्षियों को ही सर्वाधिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त है जिनका निरूपण छठी-सातवीं शती ई. में प्रारंभ हुआ। ज्ञातव्य है कि 24 यक्षों की तुलना में 24 यक्षियों का कला में अधिक महत्व रहा है। 24 यक्षियों के सामूहिक अंकनों के हमें तीन उदाहरण क्रमश: देवगढ़ (मंदिर 12), पतियानदाई (सतना, मध्य प्रदेश) अंबिका मूर्ति (संप्रति इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित, 11वीं शती ई.) एवं बाटभुजी गुफा (11वीं-12वीं शती, उड़ीसा) से मिले हैं।[2] ये तीनों ही दिगंबर परंपरा के उदाहरण हैं। 24 यक्षों के सामूहिक चित्रण का संभवत: कोई प्रयास ही नहीं किया गया।

देवगढ़ के मंदिर 12 (862 ई.)[3] की भित्ति की सभी 24 यक्षियां त्रिभंग में खड़ी हैं[4] और उनके शीर्ष भाग में संबंधित तीर्थंकरों की छोटी मूर्तियां उत्कीर्ण हैं।[5] सभी उदाहरणों में तीर्थंकरों एवं यक्षियों के नाम उनकी आकृतियों के नीचे अभिलिखित हैं। अंबिका के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी यक्षी के निरूपण में परवर्ती जैन ग्रंथों के निर्देशों का पालन नहीं किया गया है। देवगढ़ की यक्षी मूर्तियों के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि देवगढ़ में नवीं शती ई. तक केवल यक्षी अंबिका (22 वें तीर्थंकर नेमिनाथ की यक्षी) का ही स्वरूप नियत हो सका था। सात यक्षियों के निरूपण में पूर्व परंपरा में प्रचलित अप्रतिचक्रा, वज्रश्रृंखला, नरदत्ता, महाकाली, वैरोट्या, अच्छुप्ता, एवं महामानसी महाविद्याओं की लाक्षणिक विशेषताओं के पूर्ण या आंशिक अनुकरण हैं, पर उनके नाम परिवर्तित कर दिए गए हैं। यक्षियों पर महाविद्याओं के प्रभाव का निर्धारण बप्पभट्टि सूरि की चतुर्विंशतिका (ल. 8 वीं शती ई.) के विवरण एवं ओसियां (जोधपुर, राजस्थान) के महावीर मंदिर (ल. आठवीं शती) की महाविद्या मूर्तियों के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के आधार पर किया गया है। देवगढ़ समूह की अन्य यक्षियां विशिष्टता रहित एवं सामान्य लक्षणों वाली और द्विभुजा हैं। द्विभुजा यक्षियों की एक भुजा में चामर, पुष्प एवं कलश में से कोई एक सामग्री प्रदर्शित है जबकि दूसरी भुजा या तो नीचे लटकती हुई है या फिर जानु पर स्थित है। समान विवरणों वाली दो चतुर्भुज मूर्तियों

में यक्षी के दो करों में कलश प्रदर्शित हैं, जबकि अन्य में या तो पुष्प हैं या फिर एक में पुष्प है और दूसरा जानु पर स्थित है। सुपार्श्वनाथ के साथ काली के स्थान पर '*मयूरवाहि*' नाम की चतुर्भुजा यक्षी उत्कीर्ण है। मयूरवाहिनी यक्षी के हाथ में पुस्तक प्रदर्शित है, जो स्पष्टतः सरस्वती के स्वरूप का अनुकरण है।

उपर्युक्त अध्ययन से स्पष्ट है कि देवगढ़ में प्रत्येक जिन के साथ एक यक्षी की कल्पना तो की गई परंतु उनकी प्रतिमालाक्षणिक विशेषताओं के उस समय (9 वीं शती) तक निश्चित न हो पाने के कारण अंबिका के अतिरिक्त अन्य यक्षियों के निरूपण में महाविद्याओं एवं सरस्वती के लाक्षणिक स्वरूपों के अनुकरण किए गए। कुछ उदाहरणों में सामान्य लक्षणों वाली यक्षियों को भी आमूर्तित किया गया। उपर्युक्त धारणा की पुष्टि इस तथ्य से भी होती है कि देवगढ़ की ही स्वतंत्र तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों में अंबिका के अतिरिक्त मंदिर 12 की अन्य किसी भी यक्षी को नहीं उत्कीर्ण किया गया है।

नामों के आधार पर देवगढ़ के मंदिर 12 की यक्षियों को तीन वर्गों में बांटा जा सकता है। पहले वर्ग में वे पांच यक्षियां हैं, जिन्हें पारंपरिक तीर्थंकरों के साथ प्रदर्शित किया गया है। इनमें ऋषभनाथ, अनंतनाथ, अरनाथ, अरिष्टनेमि एवं पार्श्वनाथ की चक्रेश्वरी, अनंतवीर्या,[6] तारादेवी,[7] अंबायिका एवं पद्मावती यक्षियां हैं। दूसरे वर्ग में ऐसी चार यक्षियां हैं, जिन्हें अपने पारंपरिक तीर्थंकरों के साथ नहीं प्रदर्शित किया गया है। इनमें ज्वालामालिनी,[8] अपराजिता (वर्धमान), सिधइ (मुनिसुव्रत) एवं बहुरूपी (पुष्पदंत) यक्षियां हैं। जैन-परंपरा के अनुसार ज्वालामालिनी चंद्रप्रभ की, अपराजिता मल्लिनाथ की, सिधइ (या सिद्धायिका) महावीर की एवं बहुरूपी (बहुरूपिणी) मुनिसुव्रत की यक्षियां हैं। तीसरे वर्ग में ऐसी यक्षियां हैं, जिनके नाम किसी भी जैन ग्रंथ में नहीं प्राप्त होते हैं। ये भगवती, सरस्वती (अभिनंदन), मयूरवाहि (सुपार्श्वनाथ), हिमादेवी (मल्लिनाथ), श्रीयादेवी (शांतिनाथ), सुरक्षिता (धर्मनाथ), सुलक्षणा (विमलनाथ), अभौगरतिण[9] (वासुपूज्य), वहनि (श्रेयांशनाथ), श्रीयादेवी (शीतलनाथ), सुमालिनी (चंद्रप्रभ, चित्र 1) एवं सुलोचना (पद्मप्रभ) यक्षियां हैं।

बाहुबली

देवगढ़ में लगभग 9 वीं से 13 वीं शती ई. के बीच की कम से कम 6 बाहुबली मूर्तियां मिली हैं, जो प्रथम तीर्थंकर ऋषभनाथ के पुत्र और भरत के अनुज थे। दो लघु मूर्तियां क्रमशः मंदिर 12 के अर्द्धमंडप के स्तंभ और मंदिर 29 के द्वार-उत्तरंग पर उकेरी हैं। देवगढ़ की बाहुबली मूर्तियां उत्तर भारत की बाहुबली मूर्तियों में संख्या और लक्षण, दोनों ही दृष्टियों से विशिष्ट हैं।[10] इनमें बाहुबली कायोत्सर्ग-मुद्रा में खड़े हैं और उनके शरीर से लता-बल्लरियां लिपटी हुईं हैं। देवगढ़ की बाहुबली मूर्तियों में चामरधारी सेवकों, सिंहासन, त्रिछत्र, प्रभामंडल, देवदुंदुभि जैसे प्रतिहार्यों का अंकन इस बात का संकेत देता है कि तीर्थंकर न होते हुए भी गहन साधना और त्याग की प्रतिमूर्ति के रूप में बाहुबली को तीर्थंकरों के समान प्रतिष्ठा मिली है (चित्र 4) जिसकी पराकाष्ठा 12वीं-13वीं शती ई. की मंदिर 11 में सुरक्षित बाहुबली मूर्ति में देखने को मिलती हैं, जिसमें सामान्य प्रतिहार्यों के साथ ही कायोत्सर्ग में खड़े बाहुबली के साथ तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों के समान पीठिका छोरों पर यक्ष-यक्षी का भी निरूपण हुआ है। यक्ष-यक्षियों की मूर्तियों से युक्त बाहुबली का एक अन्य उदाहरण (12वीं-13वीं शती ई.) खजुराहो के साहूशांति प्रसाद जैन संग्रहालय में भी सुरक्षित है।

इस प्रकार बाहुबली मूर्तियों के संदर्भ में देवगढ़ में कई अभिनव प्रयोग हुए, जो शास्त्र

समर्थित न होते हुए भी शास्त्र के विपरीत नहीं थे और जिनका उद्देश्य मनुष्य मात्र के समक्ष संभवत: एक आदर्श प्रस्तुत करना था, जो बाहुबली के माध्यम से प्रस्तुत हुआ। यह सर्वथा तथ्य है कि हर कोई तीर्थंकर नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि वह पूर्वनियत है-पर बाहुबली जैसा साधक होकर कैवल्य और निर्वाण अवश्य प्राप्त कर सकता है। ज्ञातव्य है कि बाहुबली जैन परंपरा में इस पृथ्वी के पहले साधारण मनुष्य हैं, जिन्हें कैवल्य प्राप्त हुआ था। त्याग, साधना और अहिंसा के कठिन मार्ग पर चलकर केवल ज्ञान प्राप्त करने वाले बाहुबली को जनमानस में तीर्थंकरों के समान प्रतिष्ठित किया गया। देवगढ़ के मंदिर 2 की एक मूर्ति में बाहुबली को दो तीर्थंकरों (शीतलनाथ स्वास्तिक लांछनयुक्त एवं अभिनंदन) के साथ त्रितीर्थी मूर्ति में रूपायित किया गया है, जो पुन: तीर्थंकरों के समकक्ष बाहुबली की प्रतिष्ठा का उदाहरण है। 983 ई. में श्रवणबेलगोल (कर्नाटक) में जैन परंपरा की विशालतम धार्मिक प्रतिमा (57 फीट ऊंची) भी बाहुबली की ही बनी और 14 वीं शती ई. में कर्नाटक में ही कारकल और 17 वीं में वेणूर में भी महाप्रमाण बाहुबली मूर्तियां बनीं। एलोरा की जैन गुफाओं (नवीं शती ई.) में स्वतंत्र मंडप में एक ओर पार्श्वनाथ की गहन साधना और उपसर्गों का अंकन किया गया और ठीक उसके सामने के मंडप में उसी आकार में बाहुबली की विशाल मूर्तियां उकेरी गयीं, जो शिल्पियों और तत्कालीन समाज द्वारा बाहुबली की साधना एवं त्याग के प्रति उनकी गहरी श्रद्धा को व्यक्त करती हैं।

एलोरा और देवगढ़ (मंदिर 2) की मूर्तियों में बाहुबली के चरणों के पास हाथ जोड़े भरत चक्रवर्ती का अंकन आध्यात्मिक सत्ता के चरणों में राजसत्ता के नमन का सूचक है। आज के जीवन और व्यवहार में भी राजसत्ता के सामने आध्यात्मिक सत्ता की श्रेष्ठता को देखा जा सकता है।

बाहुबली के शरीर पर लता-बल्लरियों, सर्प, वृश्चिक और छिपकली (कृकलास) जैसे जीव-जंतुओं का अंकन बाहुबली की गहन साधना को तो व्यक्त करता ही है, साथ ही किसी न किसी रूप में इस सत्य को भी उद्घाटित करता है कि मनुष्य-पशु-पक्षी और वनस्पति जगत एक दूसरे से संपृक्त हैं। बाहुबली की मूर्तियों को मनुष्य-पशु-पक्षी और वनस्पति जगत के साहचर्य और सह अस्तित्व का सूचक भी माना जा सकता है जो आज के पर्यावरण की चिंता के संदर्भ में एक महत्वपूर्ण आधार प्रतीक बन सकता है।

बादामी, अयहोल एवं एलोरा में छठी से नवीं शती ई. के बीच बाहुबली का सर्वप्रथम निरूपण हुआ और इन स्थलों की मूर्तियों में तीर्थंकर मूर्तियों के कुछ तत्व भी प्रकट हुए। इनमें हरिवंशपुराण (11.101) और आदिपुराण (खण्ड 2, 36.183) की परंपरा के अनुरूप बाहुबली के दोनों पार्श्वों में चामरधर सेवकों के स्थान पर दो विद्याधरियों का अंकन हुआ है, जो बाहुबली के शरीर से लता-बल्लरियों को हटा रही हैं। अधिकांश विद्वानों ने भ्रमवश इनकी पहचान बाहुबली की बहनों ब्राह्मी और सुंदरी से की है। देवगढ़ की भी दो मूर्तियों में इन विद्याधरियों का अंकन मिलता है जो वर्तमान में साहू जैन संग्रहालय तथा मंदिर 11 में हैं।

भरत

भरत चक्रवर्ती का उल्लेख त्रिषष्ठिशलाकापुरुषों में मिलता है, जो ऋषभनाथ के पुत्र और बाहुबली के अग्रज थे। जैन परंपरा में भौतिक समृद्धि और शक्ति के स्थान पर सर्वदा त्याग और साधना का अधिक महत्व रहा है, इसी कारण भरत की मूर्तियां तब बनीं जब

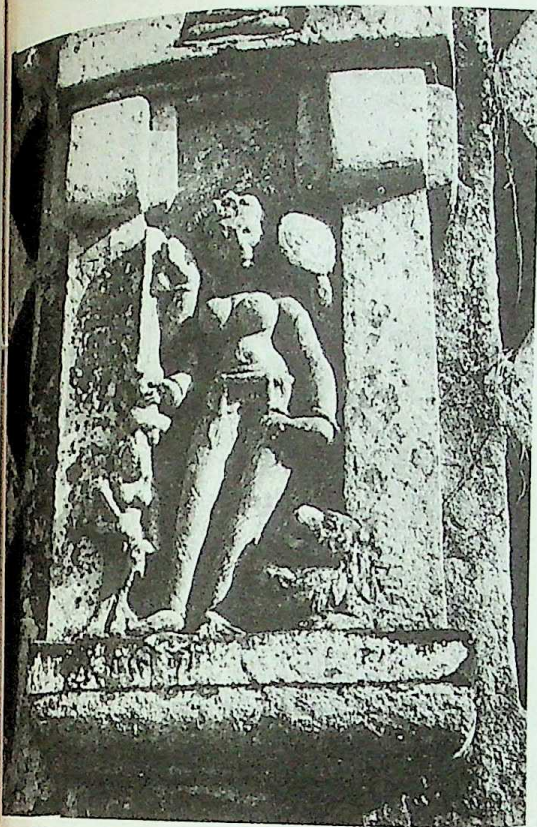
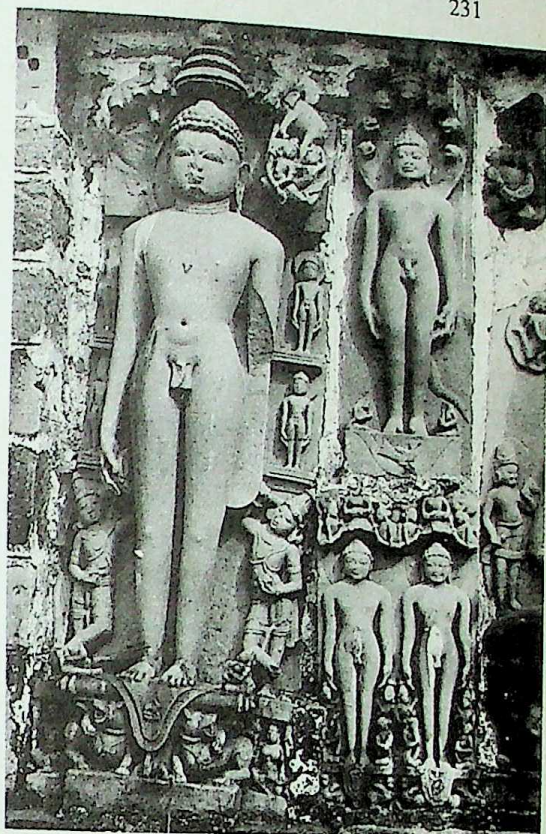
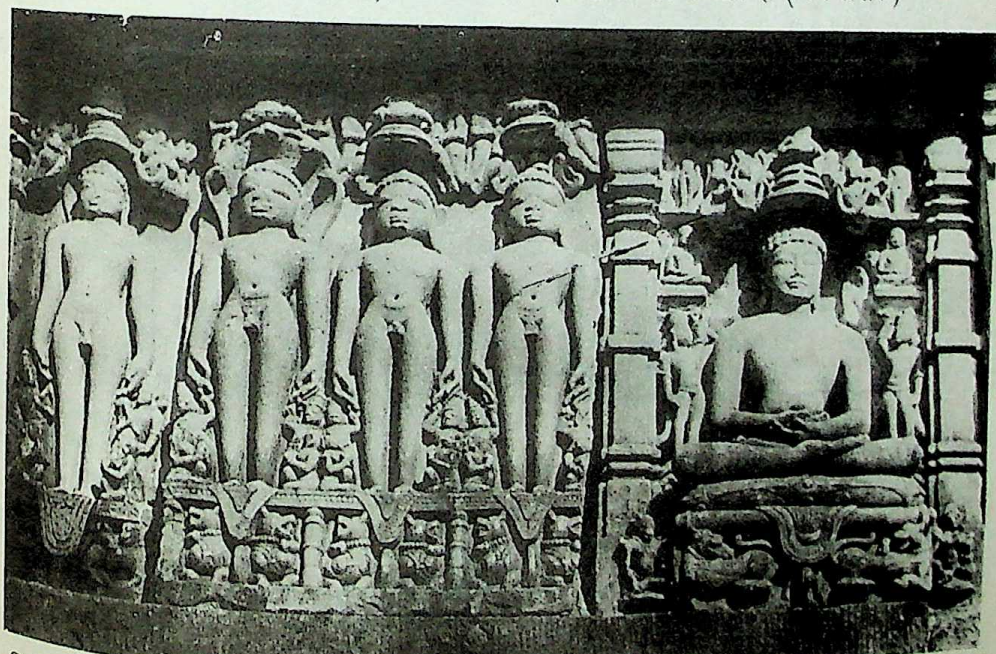
उन्होंने चक्रवर्ती पद और सांसारिक समृद्धि को छोड़कर त्याग और साधना का मार्ग ग्रहण किया। इसके बाद उन्होंने कैवल्य भी प्राप्त किया और जैन परंपरा के अनुरूप उपासना की वस्तु यानी आराध्यदेव बन गए। भरत की मूर्तियां हमें सामान्यत: नहीं मिलती हैं। इस दृष्टि से देवगढ़ की मूर्तियों का विशेष महत्व है, जहां से भरत की कम से कम पांच मूर्तियां मिली हैं। (चित्र 5) ये सभी मूर्तियां 10वीं-11वीं शती ई. की हैं और इनमें भरत को कायोत्सर्ग-मुद्रा में निरूपित किया गया है। दो मूर्तियां मंदिर सं.2 में, एक मूर्ति मंदिर सं.1 की पूर्वी दीवार पर और एक मूर्ति मंदिर 12 के परिसर की उत्तरी भित्ति पर उत्कीर्ण हैं। एक मूर्ति देवगढ़ के साहू जैन संग्रहालय में भी है। सभी मूर्तियों में वक्ष:स्थल में श्रीवत्स उत्कीर्ण है और केशरचना गुच्छकों के रूप में है। कायोत्सर्ग-मुद्रा और आंखों में भरत की गहन साधना का भाव व्यक्त हुआ है। इनमें सामान्यत: तीन के स्थान पर एक छत्र दिखाया गया है, क्योंकि भरत केवली है, तीर्थंकर नहीं। भरत के समीप ही पैरों के पास नवनिधि के सूचक नौ कलश और उसके ऊपर निधियों के स्वामी कुबेर (फल और धन का थैला-नकुलक लिए) स्थापित हैं। परिकर के समीप ही खड्ग, दंड, चक्र, छत्र, कौड़ी उत्कीर्ण हैं तथा क्रमश: हल, वज्र और अभयमुद्रा से युक्त तीन आकृतियां भी ललितासन में बैठी हैं, जिनकी पहचान सेनापति, गृहपति और पुरोहित से की जा सकती है। इनके अतिरिक्त गज, अश्व और एक नारी की भी मूर्ति मिली है। ये सभी चौदह रत्नों के सूचक हैं, जिनमें से कुछ को ही यहां दिखलाया गया है। उल्लेखनीय है कि चक्रवर्ती रूप में भरत नौ निधियों (काल, महाकाल, नैस्सर्थ, पाण्डुक्य, पद्म, माणव, पिंग, शंख और सर्वरत्न) तथा चौदह रत्नों (चक्र, छत्र, असि, दंड, मणि, चर्म, काकिणी (कौड़ी), सेनापति, गृहपति, गज, अश्व, स्त्री, पुरोहित और वास्तुकार के स्वामी थे,[11] जिनका दीक्षा लेते समय भरत ने त्याग किया था।[12] इनकी उपस्थिति इसी सांकेतिक भाव की सुंदर अभिव्यक्ति है।

विलक्षण त्रितीर्थीमूर्ति

देवगढ़ के मंदिर 1 की 11 वीं शती ई. की एक विशिष्ट त्रितीर्थी मूर्ति में दो तीर्थंकरों के साथ चतुर्भुजा सरस्वती का अंकन विशेषरूप से उल्लेखनीय है। जिनवाणी की अधिष्ठात्री देवी सरस्वती का तीर्थंकरों के साथ अंकन श्रुत देवता के रूप में जिनवाणी के मूर्तिमान स्वरूप का सूचक माना जाना चाहिए। यह देवगढ़ के शिल्पी का अभिनव प्रयोग रहा है। सरस्वती के हाथ की पुस्तक जिनवाणी की ही प्रतीक है। गज और अश्व लांछनों से युक्त अजितनाथ और संभवनाथ की त्रितीर्थी मूर्ति में सरस्वती का भी उसी आकार में रूपायन हुआ है। सरस्वती के चार हाथों में वरदमुद्रा, अक्षमाला, पद्म और पुस्तक प्रदर्शित हैं। देवी के साथ दिगंबर परंपरा के अनुरूप वाहन के रूप में मयूर का अंकन हुआ है।[13]

संदर्भ

1. विस्तार के लिए द्रष्टव्य ब्रुन क्लाज, दी जिन इमेजेज ऑव देवगढ़, लीडेन, 1969; जैन, भाग चन्द्र, देवगढ़ की जैनकला, नयी दिल्ली, 1974.
2. तिवारी, मारुति नन्दन प्रसाद, जैन प्रतिमाविज्ञान, वाराणसी, 1981, पृ.160-161.
3. मंदिर 12 शांतिनाथ को समर्पित है.

4. मंदिर 12 के अर्द्धमंडप के एक स्तंभ पर संवत् 919 (862 ई.) का एक लेख है। परंतु अर्धमंडप निश्चित ही मूलमंदिर के कुछ बाद का निर्माण है, अतः मूल मंदिर (मंदिर 12) को 862 ई. के कुछ पहले (लगभग 843 ई.) का निर्माण स्वीकार किया जा सकता है-द्रष्टव्य ब्रुन क्लाज, दि जिन इमेजेस ऑव देवगढ़, ब्रुन क्लाज पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ.36.
5. *वही,* पृ.98-112.
6. दिगंबर परंपरा में यक्षी का नाम अनंतमती है।
7. दिगंबर ग्रंथ में अर की यक्षी का नाम तारावती है।
8. जिन का नाम स्पष्ट नहीं है। दिगंबर परंपरा में ज्वालामालिनी चंद्रप्रभ की यक्षी है। देवगढ़-समूह में चंद्रप्रभ के साथ सुमालिनी उत्कीर्ण है।
9. साहनी ने इसे अभोग रोहिणी पढ़ा है। ब्रुन, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ.103.
10. विस्तार के लिए द्रष्टव्य तिवारी, मारुति नन्दन प्रसाद, एलिमेण्ट्स ऑव जैन आइकोनोग्राफी, वाराणसी, 1983, पृ.97-104.
11. *महापुराण,* खंड 1, भाग 2; 37; 73-74 और 83-84; त्रिषष्ठिशलाकापुरुषचरित्र, खंड 1,4.708-712.
12. तिवारी, मारुति नन्दन प्रसाद, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ.105-109.
13. *वही,* पृ.55-57.

चित्र 1 : चन्द्रप्रभ की यक्षी 'सुमालिनी- - भित्ति, मंदिर - 12, देवगढ़ 862 ई. (चित्र लेखक)

चित्र 3 : पार्श्वनाथ एवं ऋषभनाथ, चहारदीवारी, मंदिर - 12, देवगढ़ 10 वीं- 11 वीं शती ई. (चित्र लेखक)

चित्र 2 : मंदिर - 12 की चहारदीवारी की त्रितीर्थी एवं स्वतंत्र जिनमूर्तियां, देवगढ़ 11 वीं- 12 वीं शती ई. (चित्र लेखक)

चित्र 5 : भरतमुनि नवनिधि एवं 14 रत्नों सहित चहारदीवा मंदिर - 12, 11 वीं शती ई. (चित्र लेखक)

चित्र 4 : बाहुबली मंदिर - 12, देवगढ़ 11 वीं शती (रेखाचित्र-रूमी जायसवाल)

चित्र 6 : जैन नाग देवी पद्मावती, मंदिर - 11, मानस्तंभ, देवगढ 11 वीं शती ई. (चित्र लेखक)

बौद्ध केंद्र जाजमऊ में विहंसता प्राचीन अग्गलपुर

अंगने लाल*

वर्तमान कानपुर (नगरीय और ग्रामीण दोनों जिले) प्राचीन पांचाल जनपद के दक्षिणी भाग में स्थित था। बौद्ध साहित्य से ज्ञात होता है कि अहोगंग (हरिद्वार) से सहजाति (भीटा, जिला इलाहाबाद) तक जाने वाला मार्ग[1] तथा राजगृह से तक्षशिला जाने वाला उत्तरापथ[2] कानपुर जिलांतर्गत होकर ही जाता था। इन दोनों मार्गों पर स्थित प्रमुख नगरों में सहजाति और कौशांबी के आगे कन्नौज की ओर चलने पर अग्गलपुर, उदुंबर और कन्नकुब्ज (कान्यकुब्ज) पड़ते थे।[3] सहजाति और कन्नकुब्ज की पहचान क्रमशः भीटा और कन्नौज से हो चुकी है; लेकिन अग्गलपुर और उदुंबर नगरों के अभिज्ञान अभी सुनिश्चित नहीं हो सके हैं। राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने अग्गलपुर की स्थिति कानपुर या फतेहपुर जिले में[4] और उदुंबर नगर की कानपुर जिले में मानी है।[5] लेकिन फतेहपुर जिले में ऐसा कोई प्राचीन स्थान मुझे नहीं मिला जिसकी पहचान प्राचीन व्यापारिक नगर और बौद्ध केंद्र अग्गलपुर से की जा सके। अगले पृष्ठों में अग्गलपुर की पहचान करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

विनयपिटक के चुल्लवग्ग से ज्ञात होता है कि अग्गलपुर एक प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध केंद्र था जहां सौरेय्य (वर्तमान सोरों, जिला एटा) बौद्ध विहार के अधिष्ठाता भिक्षु भदंत रेवत महास्थविर ठहरे थे। बाद में अहोगंग (हरिद्वार के पास) बौद्ध विहार के भिक्षु प्रमुख भदंत संभूत साणवासी भी अन्य साठ भिक्षुओं के साथ आकर अग्गलपुर विहार में ही ठहरे थे।[6] इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि अग्गलपुर प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध केंद्र था जहां विशाल बौद्ध संघाराम और चैत्य (सारिपुत्त उपतिस्स चैत्य) भी थे। फतेहपुर और कानपुर जिलों के सर्वेक्षण के बाद मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा हूं कि ऐसा प्राचीन नगर जाजमऊ ही हो सकता है। अस्तु अग्गलपुर की पहचान कानपुर में गंगा नदी के दाहिने तट पर स्थित जाजमऊ के विशाल टीले से की जा सकती है।

जाजमऊ का टीला कानपुर मुख्यालय से लगभग आठ किलोमीटर दूर स्थित है। गंगा के तीव्र प्रवाह ने टीले के आधे भाग को काटकर बहा दिया है, जिससे इसका कटा हुआ भाग 90 अंश का सीधा लंब बनाता हुआ दिखाई पड़ता है। टीले के दूसरी ओर उस पर धीरे धीरे मकान बनते जा रहे हैं जिससे वह आबादी से ढकता जा रहा है। इसे शासन और पुरातत्व विभाग को रोकना चाहिए और इस टीले को सुरक्षित घोषित करना चाहिए।

जाजमऊ के उत्खनन में बुद्ध काल से गुप्त काल तक के बौद्ध धर्म संबंधित पुरावशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। मृत्पात्रों एवं मुद्राछापों के अतिरिक्त उत्खनन में 6.9 सेंटीमीटर व्यास वाला एवं 1.5 सेंटीमीटर मोटा एक मृण्मंडल मिला था। इस पर मौर्यकालीन ब्राह्मी लिपि में अंकित लेख में "उपतिशेष" अंकित है।[7] यद्यपि उत्खननकर्ता श्री गिरीश चंद्र सिंह ने इस बात की पुष्टि नहीं की कि यह मृण्मंडल-लेख स्तूपावशेष से मिला है, तथापि प्राप्ति-स्थल स्तूप रहा होगा ऐसी प्रबल संभावना है।

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उल्लेखनीय है कि भगवान बुद्ध के श्रेष्ठ शिष्य सारिपुत्र का जन्म उपतिस्स ग्राम में हुआ था[8] जिसके कारण सारिपुत्र का व्यक्तिगत नाम ही उपतिस्स[9] एवं सारिपुत्त उपतिस्स[10] पड़ गया था। जाजमऊ में एक स्तूप सारिपुत्र (उपतिस्स) की स्मृति में भी अशोक ने बनवाया होगा जिसकी सूचना उपर्युक्त मृण्मंडल के अभिलेख से झलकती है।

उपतिस्स (सारिपुत्र) भगवान बुद्ध के धर्म सेनापति थे जिनकी प्रशंसा स्वयं भगवान ने भी की है। मेरा विश्वास है कि जाजमऊ टीले का यदि भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण विभाग विधिवत और सघन उत्खनन कराए तो जाजमऊ में सारिपुत्र स्तूप के साथ साथ मोद्गल्यायन का स्तूप और भगवान बुद्ध के धातु-स्तूप के मिलने की भी संभावना है। मेरे इस कथन का आधार यह है कि सारिपुत्र और मोद्गल्यायन दोनों घनिष्ठ साथी और सहयोगी थे और दोनों के स्तूप सांची, सतधारा एवं श्रावस्ती आदि बौद्ध केंद्रों में प्रायः साथ साथ प्राप्त हुए हैं।

बौद्ध साहित्य में सारिपुत्र के कई उपदेश उल्लिखित हैं जिनमें दशोत्तर धर्म संपसादनिय, संजीति पयार्य आदि उपदेश मुख्य हैं।[11] सारिपुत्र के एक ग्रंथ (उपदेश) का उल्लेख अशोक ने अपने भाब्रू अभिलेख में भी किया है। इस अभिलेख में अशोक ने भिक्षु-भिक्षुणियों को पढ़ने के लिए जिन ग्रंथों को निर्देशित किया है उनमें एक "उपतिसपसिने" भी है।[12] यह उपतिस्स द्वारा उपदिष्ट ग्रंथ था। इससे स्पष्ट है कि अशोक के समय में भी धर्म सेनापति उपतिस्स का विशेष महत्व था। बौद्ध साहित्य में सारिपुत्तसुत्त का भी वर्णन है।[13]

जाजमऊ से प्राप्त उपर्युक्त अभिलेख में "उपतिशेष" में 'श' अंकित है जबकि पालि में 'श' नहीं बल्कि 'स' ही होता है। जार्ज ब्यूलर के मतानुसार प्राकृत अभिलेखों में यह त्रुटि हुई है।[14] इस मृण्मंडल अभिलेख को 300-200 ई. पू. के मध्य रखा गया है।[15]

जाजमऊ से प्राप्त मृण्मंडल में हस्तिनख तथा मूयर का अंकन भी महत्वपूर्ण है। यह बौद्ध धर्म से संबंधित है। कुषाण कालीन बुद्ध मूर्तियों में ऐसा हस्तिनख अंकन प्रायः मिलता है, जिसका प्रचलन मौर्य काल से प्रारंभ हो गया था। ज्ञातव्य है कि मोर, मौर्य वंश का राजचिन्ह था।

उपर्युक्त वर्णन से स्पष्ट होता है कि जाजमऊ जो बुद्ध युगीन अग्गलपुर का परिचायक है, अशोक के समय (273 से 232 ई. पू.) में भी प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध केंद्र था और वहां सारिपुत्र उपतिस्स का विशेष महत्व था।[16] यहां से मिली गुप्त कालीन एक मुद्राछाप पर बौद्ध धर्म का मूल सूत्र अंकित मिला है जो इस प्रकार है :

ये धर्मा हेतु प्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत

तेषां च यो निरोधो एवं वादि महाश्रमणः।

इस सूत्र का अर्थ है कि सभी वस्तुएं (धर्म) किसी न किसी कारण (हेतु) से उत्पन्न होती हैं। तथागत (बुद्ध) उनके कारण को बतलाते हैं। महाश्रमण (बुद्ध) उन कारणों के निदान को भी बतलाते हैं। यह सूत्र, बुद्ध के **"क्षणिकवाद"** और **"अनात्मवाद"** का आधार है। इसलिए इस सूत्र का पर्याप्त महत्व है जो भारत के पालि तथा संस्कृत बौद्ध साहित्य में ही नहीं अपितु विदेशों के अभिलेखों में भी उल्लिखित मिलता है। सी. एस. उपासक का कथन है कि गुप्त काल तक यह परंपरा संपुष्ट हो चुकी थी कि प्रत्येक बौद्ध विहार/स्तूप में इस सूत्र को संन्निधानित करना 'प्राण प्रतिष्ठा' मानी जाती थी। अस्तु जाजमऊ के विहार-स्तूप

में प्राण प्रतिष्ठा रूप में इस बौद्ध सूत्र को स्थापित किया गया होगा। इससे इस बौद्ध केंद्र का विशेष महत्व प्रतीत होता है।

उपर्युक्त सूत्र के अंकन के ऊपर तीन स्तूप भी बने हुए हैं। मध्य में मुख्य स्तूप है जिसके दाहिने बाएं एक एक स्तूप और बना हुआ है। मुख्य स्तूप और उसके बायीं ओर चित्रित स्तूप के मध्य में एक नाग बना हुआ है। मुख्य स्तूप और उसके दाहिनी ओर अंकित स्तूप के बीच में भी एक नाग टेढ़ी मेढ़ी रेखा के रूप में बना हुआ है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि ये तीनों स्तूप बुद्ध और उनके दो अग्र श्रावक-सारिपुत्त और मोद्गल्यायन के प्रतीक चिन्ह हैं। उपर्युक्त मृण्मंडल अभिलेख से जिसमें उपतिस्स (सारिपुत्र) का नाम लिखा है, सारिपुत्र स्तूप की सार्थकता सिद्ध हो जाती है।

नागों का बुद्ध और बौद्ध धर्म से घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है। मुचलिंद नाग ने बोधगया में आंधी और वर्षा में बुद्ध की रक्षा की थी। नागों को बुद्ध ने उपदेश दिए और उन्हें अपना शिष्य भी बनाया था। नाग बौद्ध धर्म के रक्षक थे।

अशोकावदान से हमें ज्ञात होता है कि अशोक ने भगवान बुद्ध के अस्थि धातुओं पर अस्सी (कहीं-कहीं चौरासी) हजार स्तूप बनवाने के लिए महापरिनिर्वाण के समय सबसे पहले निर्मित आठ धातु स्तूपों में से सात स्तूपों के अस्थि-धातु निकाले थे। लेकिन जब उसने रामग्राम के स्तूप के धातु अवशेष को प्राप्त करने का प्रयास किया तो पाया कि वह स्तूप नागों से भली प्रकार संरक्षित था जिसके कारण उसने रामग्राम के धातु स्तूप को नहीं खोला।[18] जाजमऊ में संदर्भित मुद्राछाप के नागयुक्त स्तूपों का अंकन भी यही दर्शाता है कि गुप्त युग में भी नाग बौद्ध धर्म के संरक्षक थे और शक्तिशाली भी थे।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से यह सिद्ध होता है कि जाजमऊ प्राचीनकाल का एक प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध केंद्र था जो बुद्धकाल में अग्गलपुर नाम से प्रसिद्ध था और इलाहाबाद से कन्नौज-संकिसा जाने वाले महापथ पर स्थित था। अशोक के समय में इस बौद्ध केंद्र में भगवान बुद्ध के अग्रश्रावक सारिपुत्र (उपतिस्स) का विशेष महत्व था। इसीलिए उसने उसकी स्मृति में उपतिश्य (सारिपुत्र) स्तूप का निर्माण कराया था। कुषाण काल से होता हुआ गुप्त काल तक जाजमऊ बौद्ध धर्म का प्रसिद्ध केंद्र बना रहा। इस केंद्र में सन्निहित अग्गलपुर के अतीत गौरव, इतिहास और संस्कृति की बहुमूल्य निधियां, इतिहासविदों एवं पुरातत्वविदों की ओर आशा लगाए प्रतीक्षा कर रही हैं। कानपुर नगरवासियों के तेजी से बढ़ रहे अतिक्रमण को यदि सरकार और पुरातत्व विभाग ने अविलम्ब संरक्षित स्थल घोषित करके न रोका तो कुछ ही दिनों में जाजमऊ का टीला अपना ऐतिहासिक महत्व खो देगा।

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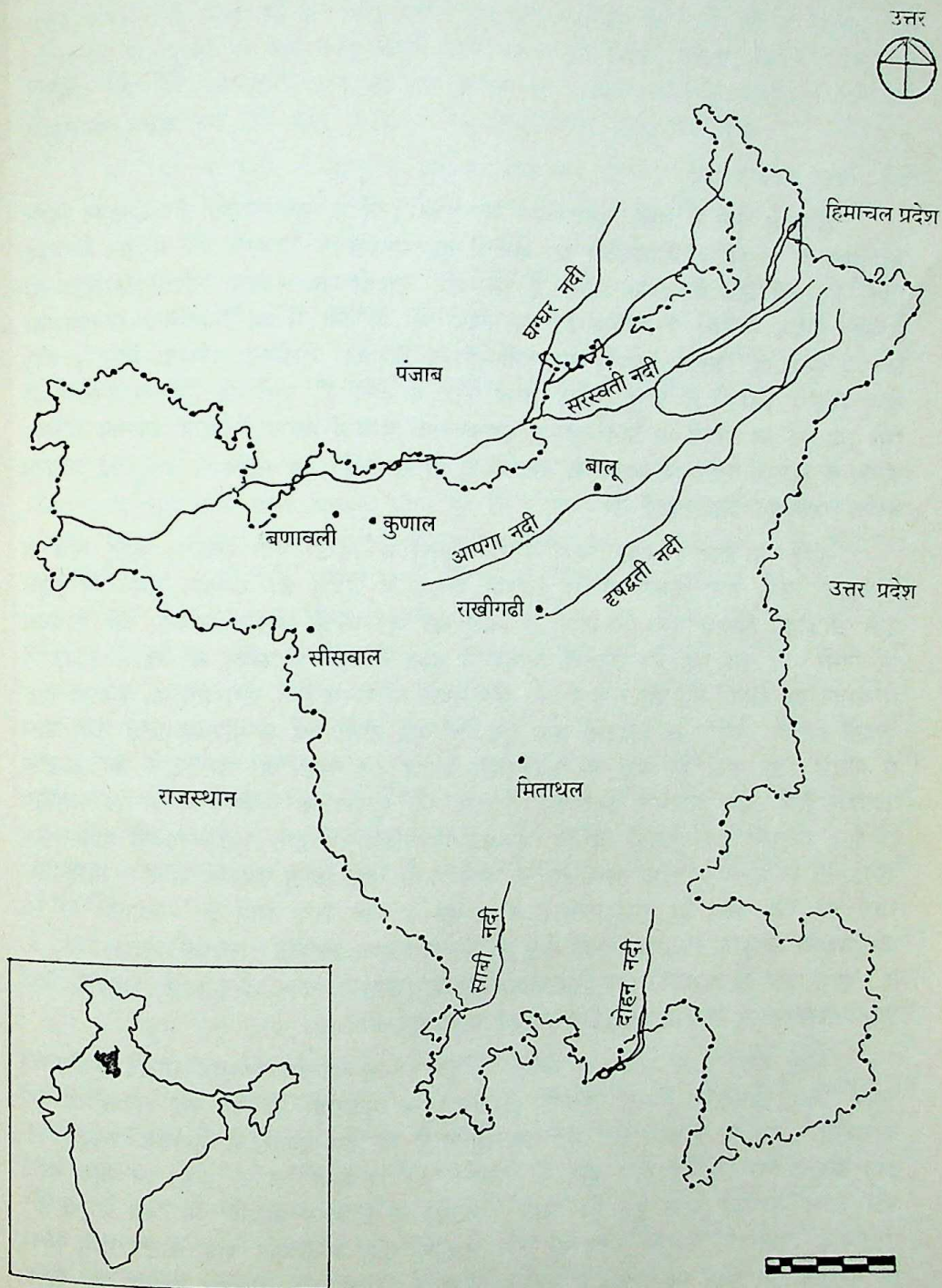
चित्र 1 : हरियाणा - हड़प्पा सभ्यता कालीन पुरास्थल

बालू का उत्खनन : एक संक्षिप्त रिपोर्ट

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हरियाणा प्रांत में अनेक पुरातात्विक स्थल हैं। इनमें से कुछ स्थलों का उत्खनन किया जा चुका है जिसके परिणामस्वरूप इस क्षेत्र में हुए सभ्यता के विकास को समझने में मदद मिली है। इस क्षेत्र में प्राचीन काल में सरस्वती, दृषद्वती एवं आपगा नदियां प्रवाहित थीं जिनका वैदिक साहित्य में उल्लेख है। इन नदियों की घाटियों में आद्यैतिहासिक सभ्यता का विकास हुआ था जिसके अवशेष बणावली (जिला हिसार), राखीगढ़ी (जिला हिसार) तथा बालू (जिला कैथल) से प्राप्त हुए हैं (चित्र 1)। ये तीनों ही पुरास्थल विशाल परकोटे से घिरे हुए थे। इन स्थलों पर प्राग्-हड़प्पा, हड़प्पा तथा परवर्ती हड़प्पा सभ्यता कालीन भौतिक जीवन के बारे में महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी उत्खननों से हो सकी है। इस संबंध में बालू का उत्खनन पर्याप्त महत्वपूर्ण सिद्ध हुआ है।

बालू का टीला (29°40' बालू उत्तरी अक्षांश व 76°2' पूर्वी रेखांश) बालू गांव से 2 कि.मी. उत्तर तथा कैथल से 17 कि.मी. दक्षिण में स्थित है। वर्तमान समय में इसके उत्तर से होकर सिरसा ब्रांच निकलती है। बालू का जन-जीवन प्राचीन आपगा नदी के जल पर निर्भर था। इस नदी का उल्लेख ऋग्वेद में हुआ है। इस पुरास्थल की खोज 1977 में सूरजभान एवं जिम. जी. शेफर द्वारा की गई। खोज के समय उन्हें प्राग्-हड़प्पा, हड़प्पा तथा परवर्ती हड़प्पा संस्कृति के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए थे।[1] यह टीला पूर्व से पश्चिम 250 तथा उत्तर से दक्षिण 200 मीटर है। यहां पर सांस्कृतिक जमाव 4.5 मीटर है। इस टीले का उत्खनन उदयवीर सिंह और सूरजभान तथा बाद में एस. पी. शुक्ल के निर्देशन में प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा 1978-79 से 1989-90, 1992-93 से 1994-95 तथा 1996-97 के बीच किया गया। बालू उत्खनन से तीन सांस्कृतिक स्तरों का पता चला है। इन्हें क्रमशः अ,ब, एवं स नाम दिया गया है।[2] प्रकाल 'अ' से प्राग्-हड़प्पा संस्कृति (लगभग 2300 ई.पू.), 'ब' से हड़प्पा संस्कृति (लगभग 2200-1700 ई. पू.) तथा 'स' से परवर्ती हड़प्पा कालीन संस्कृति (लगभग 1500 ई.पू.) के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए।[3] उत्खनन से लगभग 4000 पुरावस्तुएं प्राप्त हुईं हैं।

प्रथम काल ('अ' जमाव 1 मीटर) में पूर्व हड़प्पा कालीन मृण्भांड मिलते हैं जिनकी तुलना उत्तर सीसवाल (जिला हिसार, हरियाणा) के मृण्भांडों से की जा सकती है जो कालबंगा-1 का ही विकास है।[4] यह उल्लेखनीय है कि इस प्रकार के मृण्भांड प्रकाल 'ब' तथा प्रकाल 'स' से भी प्राप्त होते हैं। प्रकाल 'अ' से धूसर, लाल, पांडु एवं कुछ काले और लाल मृण्भांड प्राप्त हुए हैं। लाल मृण्भांडों में विभिन्न आकार के पात्र प्रमुख हैं। संग्रहभांड, जलपात्र, कलश, अंदर की ओर उत्कीर्ण नांद, अपरिष्कृत पात्र, कटोरे तथा कप। इन मृण्भांडों पर चौड़े पट्टे (गर्दन व कंधे पर), खड़ी, तिरछी तथा सर्पाकार रेखाओं का समूह; मेहराब, आड़ी तिरछी रेखाएं एवं आच्छादित त्रिकोणों की चित्रकारी की गई है। इस स्तर

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से पकी मिट्टी की चूड़ियां भी मिली हैं। उत्खनन से कच्ची ईंटों (10×20×30 से.मी.) की कुछ दीवारें भी प्राप्त हुई हैं, किंतु मकान की पूरी रूपरेखा का ज्ञान नहीं हो सका। एक खात से दो चूल्हों के एक साथ बनाये जाने का प्रमाण मिला। दक्षिणी भाग में राख का मिलना यहां पर कार्यशाला होने का ज्ञान कराता है। आवास स्थल के दक्षिण में कंकरीली मिट्टी का बांध नदी की बाढ़ से बचाने के लिए निर्मित किया गया था।

के. एस. सारस्वत ने बालू के प्राग्-हड़प्पाकालीन स्तरों से पुरावनस्पतिक साक्ष्य प्राप्त किए थे, जिनसे पता चला है कि यहां के लोग विभिन्न प्रकार के अनाज तथा दालों का उपयोग करते थे। यहां से चावल (*Oryza sativa*), जौ (*Hordam vulgare*), गेहूं (*Triticum sphaero-Coccum & Triticum aestivum*), हरा चना/मूंग (*Vigna radiata*), काला चना/कुलथी (*Dolichos bioflorus*), और साधारण मोंठ (*Vicia sativa*), भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। यहां के लोग खरबूजा (*Cuccumis melo*) व तरबूज (*Citrullus lanatus*) की खेती भी करते थे। प्राग्-हड़प्पा सभ्यता से तरबूज का यह सबसे प्राचीन उदाहरण है। इसके अतिरिक्त बालू से बेर (*Ziziphus nummularia*) व हरड़ (*Terminalia Chebula*) भी पाई गई है।

बालू के प्रकाल 'ब' जमाव 2.20 मीटर से प्राग्-हड़प्पा मृण्भांडों के साथ हड़प्पा कालीन मृण्भांड तथा अन्य अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। संग्रहभांड, छिद्रित मर्तबान, कलश, सपीठ थाली, चषक, बीकर तथा हत्थेदार कप हड़प्पाकालीन पात्र हैं, जिन पर पीपल की पत्ती, प्रतिच्छेदी गोले, आच्छादित पत्तियां तथा क्षैतिज पट्टे, इत्यादि की चित्रकारी की गई है (चित्र 2,3)। यहां से प्राप्त पुरावस्तुओं में पकी मिट्टी की बनी पशु मूर्तियां, चूड़ी, खिलौना गाड़ी का ढांचा, पहिया, गेंद, चक्रिका (Disc), मारक गोलियां तथा तिकोने व गोल चपटे केक; अस्थि नोक; पत्थर की सपाट सिल एवं मूसल; फांयस की चूड़ियां व मनके तथा फायंस एवं अर्ध मूल्यवान पत्थर के मनके; सेलखड़ी की चक्रिका प्रकार के मनके, चर्ट-ब्लेड तथा कुछ तांबे के बाणाग्र, छेनी, चाकू, इत्यादि उल्लेखनीय हैं। सेलखड़ी का एक मुद्रांक प्राप्त हुआ जिस पर स्वस्तिक चिन्ह है (चित्र 4)। एक मृण्मय सांचा (चित्र 5) मिला जिसे धातु की सिल/छड़ बनाने में प्रयोग किया गया था। ऐसा सांचा आज तक किसी हड़प्पा सभ्यता कालीन पुरास्थल से नहीं प्राप्त हुआ है। एक पात्र पर हड़प्पाई लिपि के तीन अक्षर उत्कीर्ण मिले हैं।

हड़प्पाई लोगों ने सर्वप्रथम प्रकाल 'अ' के टीले पर दक्षिण-पश्चिम तथा पश्चिमी भाग में आवास बनाया। इस समय मकान एक ईंट की चौड़ाई वाली दीवारों से बनाये गये। इस चरण की कुछ पान जैसी आकृति की भट्ठियां मिलीं। ऐसी भट्ठियां मोहेंजोदड़ो से भी मिलीं हैं। इनमें कोई वस्तु पकायी जाती होगी। हड़प्पाई लोगों ने आगे चलकर इस स्थल पर दुर्ग का निर्माण किया। इसकी कच्ची ईंटों की दीवार आधार पर 12 मीटर चौड़ी बनाकर उसे क्रमशः ऊंचाई में भीतर व बाहर की ओर क्रमशः पतला किया गया। इसके भीतर उत्तर-दक्षिण 108 मीटर तथा पूर्व-पश्चिम 96 मीटर क्षेत्र घिरा हुआ था (चित्र 6)। पूर्वी दीवार में लगभग बीचोबीच ऑफसेट तथा सीढ़ियों की व्यवस्था की गयी। उत्तरी दीवार में एक विशाल बुर्ज की व्यवस्था की गयी। यह बुर्ज 15.10 मीटर चौड़ा रहा था जो ऊपर की ओर क्रमशः पतला बनाया गया था। दुर्ग की दक्षिणी दीवार के साथ अंदर की ओर एक छोटा सा उभार, जिसे बुर्ज कहा जा सकता है, पाया गया। इस दुर्ग का प्रवेशद्वार संभवतः पूर्व-दक्षिण दिशा में रहा था। परवर्ती कार्यकलापों से दुर्ग का यह भाग पर्याप्त क्षतिग्रस्त पाया गया। हड़प्पाई आवास क्षेत्र सड़कों तथा गलियों में बंटा हुआ था जो 1.

45 से 1.90 मीटर तक चौड़ी थीं। कुछ मकान ऊंचे चबूतरे पर भी बनाए गए। कुछ मकानों को पूर्व बने हड़प्पाई मकानों की नींव पर निर्मित किया गया। तीन कमरों वाले एक मकान के सामने खुला आंगन था (चित्र 7)। एक मकान की रूपरेखा अंग्रेजी 'T' जैसी पायी गयी। एक मकान के बाहर गंदा पानी सोखने के लिए बर्तन भूमि में गाड़ा गया। घरों से चूल्हे तथा अग्निस्थान होने की जानकारी मिली। एक सार्वजनिक पूजास्थल, जहां पर कई बार अग्निस्थान के रूप में केक, आदि रखी मिली, पाया गया। उल्लेखनीय है कि इसमें डालने के बाद गेहूं और जौ के दाने छिटके हुए विस्तृत क्षेत्र में पाये गये। इस क्षेत्र को अच्छी मिट्टी डालकर समतल किया गया था। कालीबंगा,[5] बणावली[6] तथा राखीगढ़ी[7] से भी हड़प्पा सभ्यता के संदर्भ में अग्निस्थानों के होने का प्रमाण प्राप्त हुआ है। समृद्ध हड़प्पाई युग के अंतिम चरण में एक नाली पकी ईंटों की मिली जिसके निर्माण में फन्नीदार पकी ईंटों का प्रयोग हुआ था। ऐसी ईंटों का प्रयोग प्राय: कूप आदि वृत्ताकार संरचना के निर्माण में मिलता है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि किसी जीर्ण कूप से उन्हें निकाल कर पुन: प्रयोग में लाया गया था। आगे चलकर हड़प्पाई लोगों ने एक ईंट चौड़ी दीवार के मकान बनाने प्रारंभ किए। हड़प्पा संस्कृति की अन्य सामग्री पूर्ववत् प्रचलन में रही।

बालू के निवासियों ने हड़प्पा काल में भी चावल, जौ, गेहूं, काला चना, हरा चना इत्यादि की खेती पहले की भांति ही जारी रखी। इस काल के स्तरों के उत्खनन से जौ (*Hordum vulgare*), दाल (*Lens culinaris*), बरसीम (*Trifolium alexandrinum*), मटर (*Piscum arvence*), चना (*Cicer arietinum*), खेसरी (*Lathyrus sativus*), और तिल (*Sesamum Indicum*), के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त यहां से खजूर (*Phoenix sp.*) और अंगूर (*Vitis vinifera*) के दाने तथा कुंदरू (*Coccinia cordifolia*) और लहसुन (*Garlic*) के अवशेष भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। बालू से लहसुन की प्राप्ति बहुत महत्वपूर्ण साक्ष्य है क्योंकि इसकी उत्पत्ति संभवत: मध्य एशिया में कहीं रही हो। इसका उपयोग भोजन, दवा और धार्मिक कार्यों में मिस्र में 3200 ई.पू. में होता था। सारस्वत के अनुसार अभी तक केवल बालू से ही लहसुन के पुरातात्विक अवशेष दक्षिण और दक्षिण-पूर्व एशिया में पाए गए हैं। "Balu in India has furnished the sole record of garlic in the archaeological context of south and south-eastern Asia."

बालू के तृतीय प्रकाल ('स' जमाव 2.30 मीटर) से उत्तर-हड़प्पाकालीन व कुछ प्राग्-हड़प्पाकालीन मृण्भांड प्राप्त हुए हैं। यहां के मुख्य पात्र हैं, झुके किनारे वाली सपीठ थाली (dish-on-stand with drooping rim), संग्रहभांड तथा लंबी ग्रीवा वाले अपरिष्कृत पात्र एवं कलश। इस काल के मृण्भांड हड़प्पा संस्कृति की तुलना में कुछ घटिया किस्म के हैं। इन पर उत्कीर्ण अथवा काले रंग से चित्रित ज्यामितीय अलंकरण हैं। इस काल के आवास के निर्माण में कई तरह की कच्ची ईंटों का प्रयोग हुआ। किसी भी मकान की संपूर्ण रूपरेखा का ज्ञान नहीं हो सका। उत्खनन से कई भट्ठियों की जानकारी मिली जो विभिन्न आकार-प्रकार की रही थीं। इस स्तर से मिट्टी, फायंस, सेलखड़ी, प्रस्तर, अस्थि एवं सीप की बनी पुरावस्तुएं भी प्राप्त हुई हैं। इस प्रकाल के अवशेषों की तुलना हरियाणा में बणावली (III),[8] मिताथल (II B),[9] दौलतपुर (I)[10] एवं भगवानपुर (I B)[11] तथा पंजाब में बाड़ा से की जा सकती है।

हरियाणा से हड़प्पा सभ्यता के तीन दुर्ग स्थलों के होने की जानकारी मिली है जो बणावली, राखीगढ़ी तथा बालू में रहे थे। बालू में जो दुर्ग निर्मित हुआ वह बणावली तथा राखीगढ़ी की अपेक्षाकृत बाद का है। राखीगढ़ी तथा बणावली के दुर्ग लगभग 2500-2300

ई.पू. में निर्मित हुए। बालू में हड़प्पाई लोगों ने लगभग 2200 ई.पू. में अपने आवास निर्मित किए। बालू के उत्खनन से यह भी पता चला है कि प्राग्-हड़प्पा तथा हड़प्पा सभ्यता की विशिष्ठ मृण्भांड परंपरा अपेक्षाकृत उत्तर हड़प्पा काल तक बनी रही।

पुरावशेष तालिका

1. **ताम्र पुरावशेष**

चूड़ियां	9
मनके	2
कुल्हाड़ी	1
पिन	2
छल्ला	14
तार	4
कान की बाली	1
चाकू	5
तीर की नोंक	6
सूई	2
छैनी	3
छड़	1
नोंक	2
मछली कांटा	4
कील	4
भाला	2
टुकड़े	47
अन्य	32

2. **स्वर्ण पुरावशेष**

आभूषण का खंडित भाग	1
मनका	1

3. **फायंस की पुरावस्तुएं**

चूड़ियां	221
मनके	47
मोहर	1

छल्ला	2
टुकड़े	2
पात्र का टुकड़ा	1
अज्ञात वस्तु	8

4. हाथी दांत की वस्तुएं

चूड़ियां	1
अज्ञात वस्तु	1

5. पकी मिट्टी की वस्तुएं

मुष्टिका	206
चक्रिका	48
गेंद	253
केक	13
त्रिकोण	168
गोले	250
पशु आकृतियां	51
चिन्हित वस्तुएं	1
पक्षी की आकृति	5
सर्प की आकृति	1
कार्क	2
पहिया	63
पट्टिका	2
कर्णाभूषण	2
खेल की गोटी	10
सांचा	2
खिलौना गाड़ी का ढांचा	42
मनके	91
पदक	2
झांवा	2
चूड़ियां	1604

6. शंख निर्मित वस्तुएं

मनका	1

चूड़ियां	30
सीप	1
खंडित भाग	30

7. पत्थर की वस्तुएं

चर्ट ब्लेड	52
कौर	1
बट्टा	19
गेंद	58
सिल	7
पदक	1
मनके	28
कार्नेलियन	31
अगेट	8
स्फटिक	2
केक	1
फलक	1
मूसल	5
आभूषण का सांचा	1
बाट	4
गोल केक	1
अन्य वस्तुएं	66
अज्ञात वस्तुएं	24

8. हड्डी से निर्मित वस्तुएं

नोंक	54
उपकरण	1
ब्लैड	1
बाणाग्र	2
बाल की पिन	8
मनके	3
चाकू	2
अज्ञात वस्तुएं	6

9. सेलखड़ी की वस्तुएं

मनके 633

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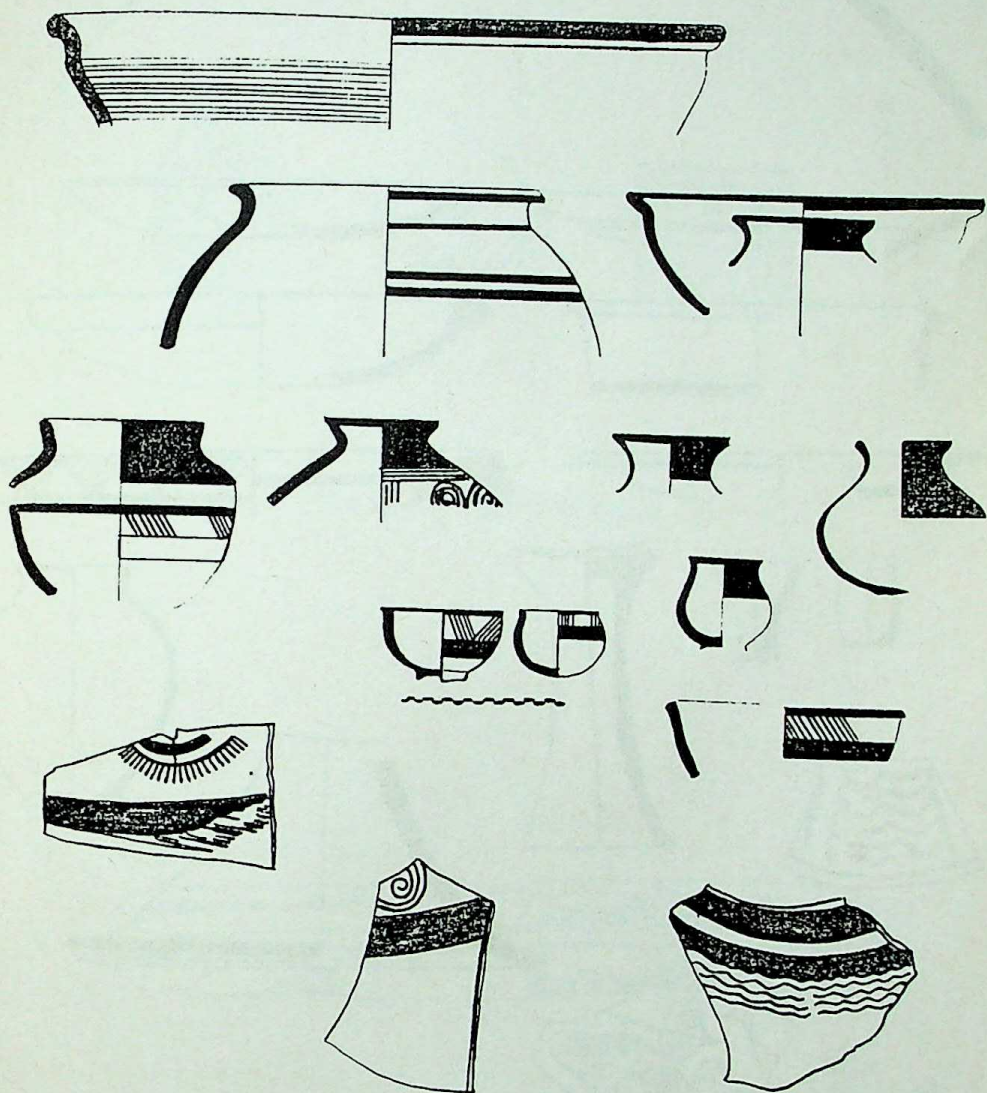
आभार

यह तालिका डॉ. सुरेन्द्र कुमार वशिष्ठ एवं श्री सुखदेव सिंह सैनी, शोध सहायक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व विभाग द्वारा तैयार की गई। सुश्री बॉबी मिश्रा ने उपरोक्त चित्रांकन तैयार किए हैं, इसके लिए हम इनके आभारी हैं।

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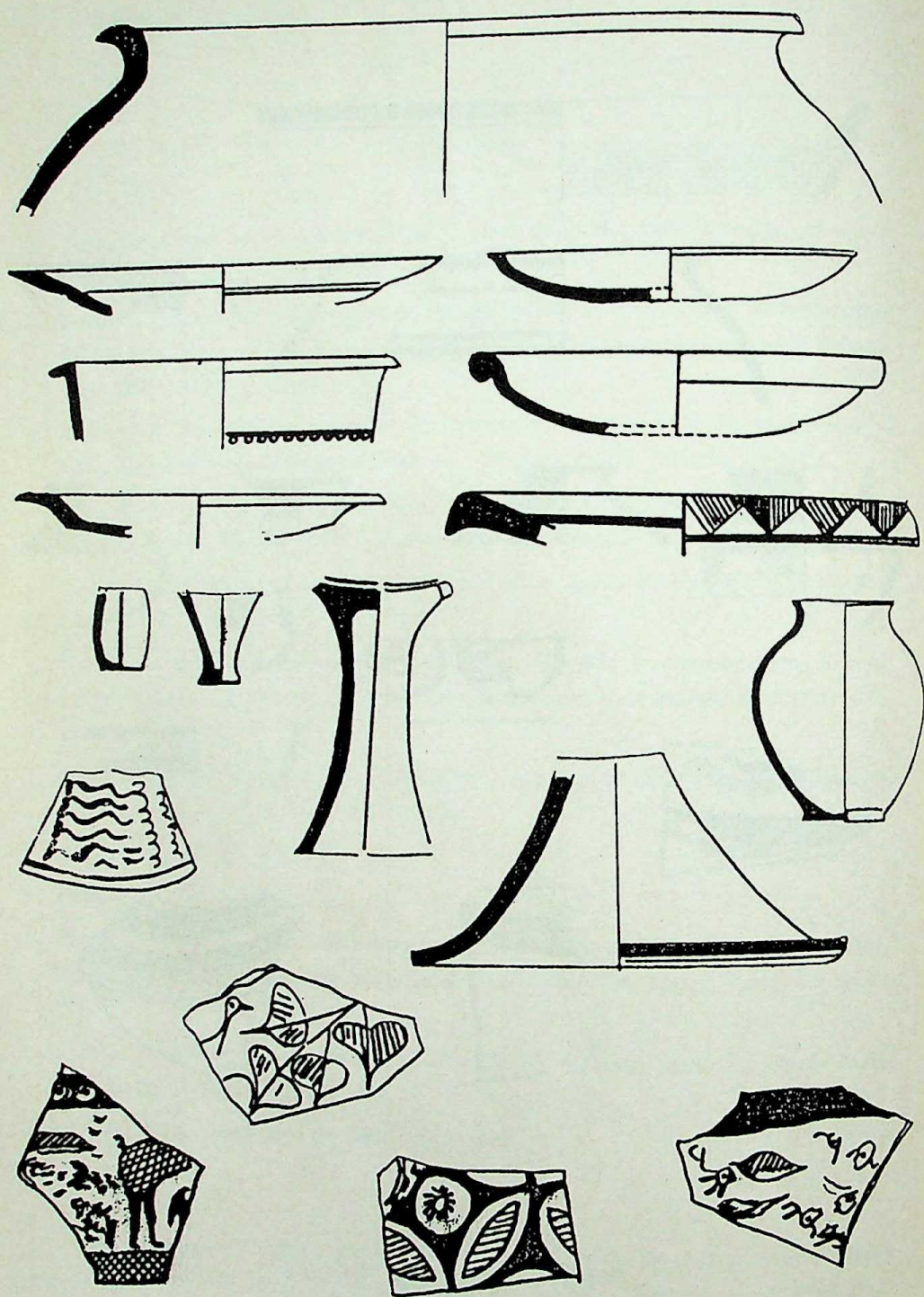
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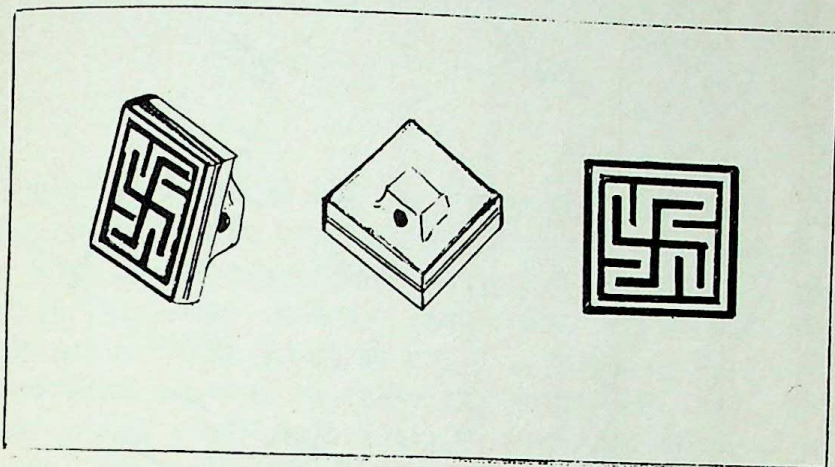
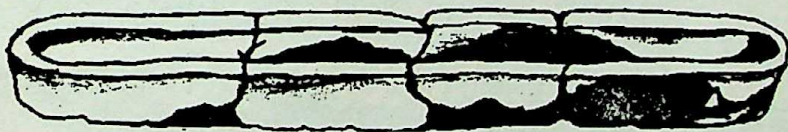
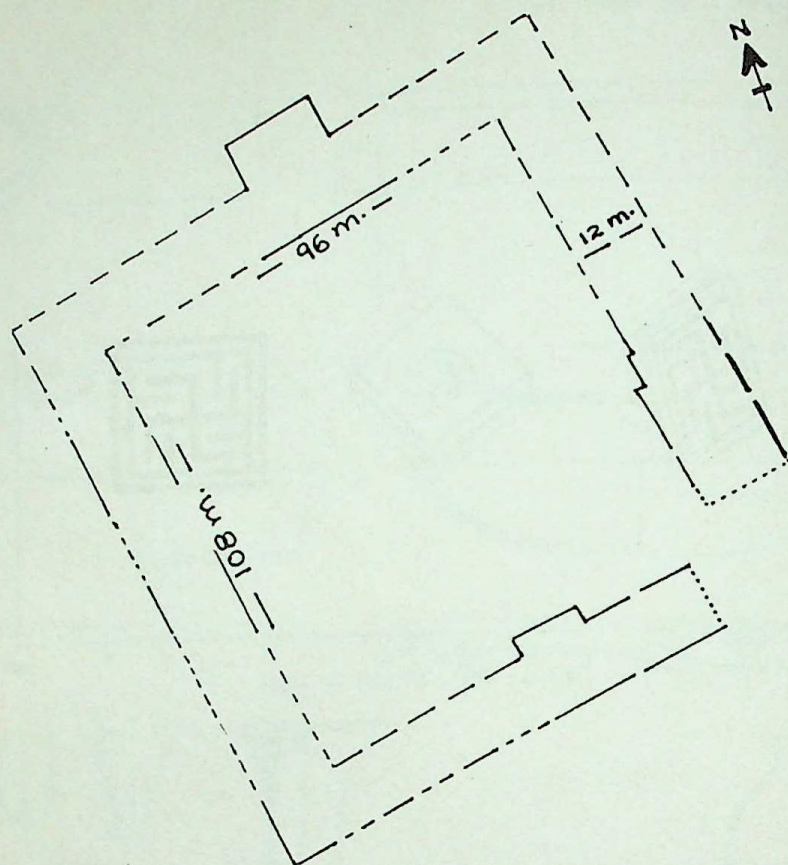
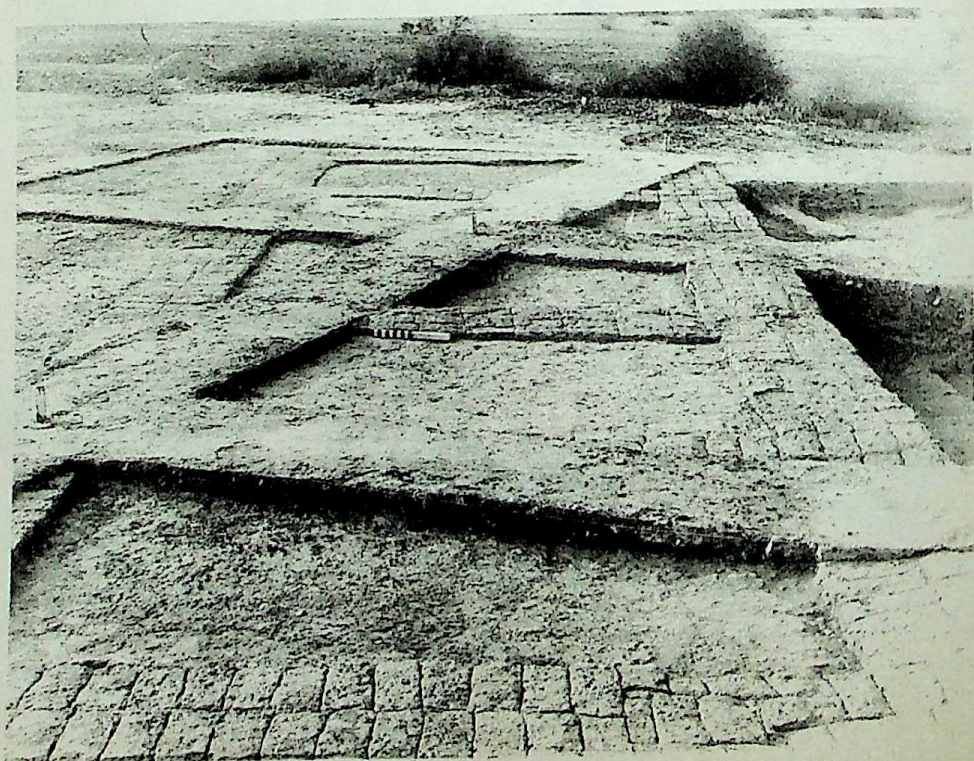

चित्र **4 :** बालू : सेलखड़ी का मुद्रांक

चित्र **5 :** बालू : मृण्मय सांचा

N

96 m.

12 m.

108 m.

चित्र **6 :** बालू : हड़प्पा सभ्यता कालीन दुर्ग

न्यूनाधिक मानकों के सिक्के: बौद्ध कालीन लोक जीवन के साक्षी

गोरखनाथ*

अपने जिन वैशिष्ट्यों के चलते बौद्ध काल का महत्व है, उनमें मौद्रिक अर्थव्यवस्था का प्रसार प्रमुख स्थान रखता है। इसे दृष्टिगत रखते हुए इसके महत्व प्रतिपादन में यहां तक कथित है कि वस्तु-विनिमय पर आधारित प्राचीन प्रथा को तब सदैव के लिए तिलांजलि दे दी गयी थी।[1] इसमें किंचित अतिरंजना हो सकती है। लेकिन वैदिक समाज में प्रचलित निष्क, सुवर्णादि रहस्यमय सिक्कों से भिन्न इस काल में बहु प्रचलित *कहापण* (संस्कृत-कार्षापण) एवं उसके विविध लघु मानकों की उपलब्धि तथा तत्कालीन राज्यों, राजवंशों, शासकों आदि से उनका अभिज्ञान कथित वैशिष्ट्य में वृद्धि कर देता है, साथ ही *पण्य, आपण, विपण, वणिक-पथ, सेट्ठि, महासेट्ठि* आदि के रूप में आर्थिक जगत के संपूर्ण तारों के झंकृत होने के कारण इसे स्पष्टत: स्वीकार किया गया है कि उस समय भारत की द्वितीय नागर क्रांति[2] प्रस्फुटित हुई थी।

बौद्ध काल के प्रतिनिधि सिक्कों को उनकी तकनीक के आधार पर *आहत/कार्षापण/पंच-मार्क* संज्ञाओं से संबोधित किया जाता है।[3] आहत सिक्का संवर्ग की तीन प्रमुख श्रेणियों, यथा- शलाका मुद्रा, जनपदों-महाजनपदों के लोकल संज्ञा से अभिहित सिक्के तथा मगध साम्राज्य द्वारा प्रचारित इंपीरियल वर्ग के सिक्के द्रष्टव्य हैं। इन श्रेणियों के न्यूनाधिक मानकों के सिक्के प्रचारित थे, जो महानगरियों से लेकर ग्राम्य-अरण्य स्तर तक समाज में व्यवहृत थे। प्रारंभिक चरण में ये सिक्के रजत के निर्मित होते थे और तदुपरांत ताम्र के भी प्रचारित किए गए।

शलाका मुद्रा का प्रचलन तक्षशिला तथा उसके निकटवर्ती क्षेत्र में था। उत्तरवैदिक शतमान सिक्के के आदर्श पर इसका परिशुद्ध भार 100 रक्तिका अर्थात् 180 ग्रेन विदित है। इनका सामान्य भार 170-75 ग्रेन दृष्टिगत है। कतिपय अत्यंत घिसे-पिटे सिक्के 155.7 ग्रेन तक के भी प्राप्त हैं तो अपेक्षाकृत चमक-दमक वाले 177.3 ग्रेन के सिक्के भी प्राप्त हुए हैं।[4] लंबे, पतले तथा मुड़े आकार वाले इनके दोनों छोर पर ज्यामिति रेखाओं से युक्त एक-एक प्रतीक अंकित हैं जो षडार चक्र के भेद हैं। भौतिक रूप से सत्यापित सर्वाधिक भार वाले सिक्कों में ये अग्रणी हैं। विशिष्ट क्रय-क्षमता वाले इनके विविध लघु मानकों यथा अर्ध, पाद और अष्टभागिक के प्रचलित होने के प्रमाण प्राप्त हैं।[5]

आहत संवर्ग में द्वितीय श्रेणी के सिक्के विविध मानकों के हैं। इन्हें नागर प्रतिमानों से प्रेरित होकर अनेकानेक राज्यों ने स्थानीय आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति हेतु अपनी-अपनी सीमा में प्रचारित किया था। इनके कितने ही सिक्के अंतर्राज्यीय स्तर पर स्वीकृत होते थे।[6] इनके पूर्व भाग पर एक से चार प्रतीक विविध रूपों में आहत कर उत्पन्न किए गए हैं। इनमें सर्वाधिक उच्च भार 125 ग्रेन के मगध के सिक्के मिले हैं। इससे निम्न भार में सिक्के

* रीडर, प्राचीन इतिहास एवं संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व, दी. द. उपाध्याय गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय

105, 72 65, 50, 48, 45, 42, 25, 23, 21, 20, 15, 12, 10 ग्रेन से न्यूनतम 2-3 ग्रेन तक प्रकाश में आए हैं।[7] इससे स्पष्ट है कि इस 'लोकल' वर्ग में अनेकानेक भार-मानक प्रचलन में थे। प्रचलन के अनंतर के घिसावट को ध्यानस्थ रखते हुए यह कथन अप्रासंगिक न होगा कि 1-2 रक्तिका के सिक्के व्यवहार में थे। इस प्रसंग में यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि धातुगत मूल्य के प्रभावी होने के कारण सिक्कों के अर्ध-तिहाई भाग को पृथक कर उनका व्यवहार किया जाता था।

पंच चिन्हित 'इंपीरियल' सिक्के आहत संवर्ग की तृतीय श्रेणी के हैं, जो अत्यंत मनोरंजक होने के साथ साहित्य एवं पुरातत्व के ऐक्य की अद्‌भुत मिशाल हैं। इस वर्ग के सिक्के 32 रक्तिका यानि 54/56 ग्रेन के मानक पर निर्मित हैं। संप्रति 54 ग्रेन[8] के निकटस्थ भार की इनकी प्राप्ति इसकी संकेत है कि इनका व्यवहार दीर्घकाल तक होता रहा। संपूर्ण भारत में इनकी उपलब्धि से यह स्पष्ट है कि मगध साम्राज्य के विस्तार के साथ इनका प्रसरण अभिन्न रूप से संयुक्त है। अपनी प्रसार अवधि में इस वर्ग ने किंचित 'लोकल' वर्ग के सिक्कों के प्रवाह को प्रतिबंधित किया तो अन्यों को समाप्त प्राय करने का कारण बना। यह इसकी सार्वदेशिकता का स्वीकरण ही है कि इसे ही कार्षापण के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हुई, जो बौद्ध ग्रंथों[9] के साथ अष्टाध्यायी[10] तथा अर्थशास्त्र[11] में समान रूप से वर्णित है। इसके विविध लघु मानक भी इन सभी में तथैव प्राप्त होते हैं।

जातकों में कहापण के पंच लघु मानक - अड्ढ, पाद, द्वे माषक, माषक तथा अड्ढ भाषक उल्लिखित हैं।[12] अर्धमाषक के लिए काकड़ी भी कथित है। काकणी नामक सिक्का एक रक्तिका के मानक पर निर्मित होता था, जो भार की न्यूनतम इकाई होती थी। अत्यल्प मूल्य के सिक्के के रूप में अर्ध काकणी के व्यवहार की सूचना कात्यायन[13] से प्राप्त है। इससे सुस्पष्ट है कि काकणी अर्थात् एक रक्तिका भार का रजत सिक्का सामान्य प्रचलन में था। इन अत्यल्प मूल्य के सिक्कों में रजत के साथ ताम्र के सिक्के भी होते थे।[14]

बौद्ध कालीन समाज सिप्पियों[15] (कौड़ी) के व्यवहार से परिचित था, हालांकि इनके अनुपातिक मूल्य संबंधी सूचनाओं का अभाव है। न्यूनाधिक मानकों में अर्ध काकड़ी जैसे अत्यल्प क्रय-क्षमता वाले सिक्कों के चलते इनके प्रचलन का क्या प्रयोजन था, कहना कठिन है। परंतु जातकों में जिस प्रकार अर्ध माषक तक के दैनिक पारिश्रमिक का उल्लेख है और संबद्ध अकुशल श्रमिकों को उससे आवश्यकता की सर्व सामग्री के प्रबंध का प्रसंग है, उससे यह संकेतित है कि निम्नतम मानक के सिक्के के रूप में निम्नस्थ जनों में सिप्पियों का व्यवहार एक आवश्यकता थी। यद्यपि इनकी अभिन्नता काकणी से प्रदर्शित[16] है, लेकिन अर्ध काकणी तक के सिक्कों की अवस्था में इससे निम्नस्थ मानक के रूप में कौड़ियों के व्यवहार को स्वीकार करना ही उचित होगा।

विविध मानकों के सिक्कों के प्रयोजन का विषय अब विचारणीय है। इस प्रसंग में जो मुद्राशास्त्रीय निष्कर्ष प्रकाश में आए हैं, उनसे बहुमूल्य धातुओं के स्तर-युक्त भार वाले सिक्कों को मूल्यवान वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रयार्थ प्रयुक्त होना, निर्दिष्ट है।[17] विशिष्ट क्रय-क्षमता वाले ऐसे सिक्कों में रोमक दीनारों के साथ कुषाण और गुप्त मुद्राएं उल्लेख्य हैं। इनके एकाधिक वैशिष्ट्य जो प्रथमत: हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट करते हैं, उनमें व्यवहार के अनंतर की घिसावट का इन पर अत्यल्प घटित होना, इनमें भार की कमी की नगण्यता, इन पर की चमक-दमक की स्थिरता तथा सामान्य स्थलों से इनकी अनुपलब्धता, ध्यातव्य हैं। कुषाण

स्वर्ण-सिक्कों की तुलना तो उनके ही ताम्र-सिक्कों से करने से स्पष्ट है कि ताम्र-सिक्के अपेक्षाकृत अधिक घिसे-पिटे और अपने मानक भार से न्यून हैं। विवेच्य कालीन सिक्कों के प्रसंग में यह अंतर अधिक भार युक्त तथा अल्प भार वाले सिक्कों में द्रष्टव्य है।

इन निष्कर्षों के आलोक में पूर्व विवेचित न्यूनाधिक 99-100 रक्तिका के सिक्कों से लेकर 1-2 रक्तिका के भार वाले सिक्कों तथा निम्नस्थ स्तर पर व्यवहृत सिप्पियों से स्पष्ट है कि मौद्रिक अर्थव्यवस्था के प्रसार के आरंभिक दिनों में इनका प्रचलन एक व्यावहारिक आवश्यकता थी। सामान्य दैनिक व्यवहार को गतिशीलता प्रदान करना[18] तथा अल्प आय के निम्नस्थ जन-समुदाय[19] को नव अर्थव्यवस्था में परिवेष्ठित करना, इसके दो उद्देश्य स्पष्ट हैं। जातक कथाओं से स्पष्ट होता है कि विवेच्यकाल में मोल-भाव के पश्चात् वस्तुओं का मूल्यांकन प्राय: सिक्कों में निश्चित होता था यद्यपि वस्तु-विनिमय पर आधारित व्यवहार भी अप्रचलित न था।[20] विक्रेय वस्तुओं में मूल्यवान विशिष्ट उत्पादों के साथ अत्यल्प मूल्य के मूषक तक सभी सम्मिलित कथित हैं। उनके सुविधानुसार व्यवहार हेतु कार्षापण से लेकर विविध लघु मानकों के सिक्कों की आवश्यकता होती थी।[21] जातक कथाओं में सर्वाधिक अल्प मूल्य एक मूषक का एक काकणी निर्दिष्ट है, तो मांस का एक खंड भी इतने ही मूल्य पर प्राप्त था। आश्चर्य तो यह है कि सामान्य श्रमिकों को एक दिवस के पारिश्रमिक के रूप में माषक या अर्धमाषक ही प्राप्त होता था।[22] यहां इन दृष्टांतों में मात्र एक काकणी पर एक दिवस के लिए श्रम की सुलभता तथा उस काकणी की ऐसी अत्यल्प क्रय-क्षमता रेखांकित करने योग्य है। इसके साथ यह भी ध्यातव्य है कि श्रम जहां कौड़ियों के मोल है वहीं क्षुद्र वस्तुओं के मूल्य सामान्यत: अधिक हैं।

श्रम की सुलभता, अल्प पारिश्रमिक तथा उपभोग्य वस्तुओं के मंहगे होने के किंचित अन्य उल्लेख भी द्रष्टव्य हैं। सुतनों जातक में बोधिसत्व को दिन भर के श्रम के बदले डेढ़ कहापण प्राप्त करने तथा उससे बड़ी कठिनता से मां सहित दो व्यक्तियों के जीवन यापन करने का प्रकरण है।[23] यहां बोधिसत्व कुशल श्रमिक प्रतीत होते हैं, क्योंकि ऐसे श्रमिकों को अपेक्षाकृत अधिक पारिश्रमिक प्राप्त होता था। विषयक जातक का एक तृणहारक (grass cutter) तृण की बिक्री करके एक दिन में मात्र एक रजत माषक ही अर्जित कर पाता था। उस आय से वह मात्र दो व्यक्तियों के भोजन की व्यवस्था कर पाता था, ऐसा मिलता है।[24] गंगमाल जातक भी अकुशल श्रमिकों की अल्प दैनिक आय की पुष्टि करता है। एक उदक भाढि (जल भरने वाला) को मात्र एक अर्धमाषक का रजत खंड दिए जाने का विवरण मिलता है।[25]

कुशल श्रमिकों की स्थिति किंचित भिन्न थी। इनसे संबद्ध विवरणों में दैन्यावस्था का प्रसंग अनुल्लिखित है, तो इसका कारण अवश्यमेव उन्हें प्राप्त संतोषजनक पारिश्रमिक है, जिसकी झलक कथाओं में मिलती है। सुप्पारक जातक में एक नापित को राजा की सेवा के पारिश्रमिक के रूप में आठ कार्षापण ग्रहण करते दिखाया गया है।[26] प्राय: यही शुल्क वह नाविक प्राप्त करता है जो यात्रियों को नदी पार पहुंचाता है।[27] उपर्युक्त सामान्य श्रमिकों की तुलना में इन कुशल श्रमिकों की आय निश्चिय ही अधिक है। यदि इन्हें प्राप्त कहापण ताम्र का भी स्वीकार किया जाय, तो भी यह कथन असंगत नहीं कि तत्कालीन समय में कुशल श्रम का मूल्य अधिक था। कुशल श्रम के अन्य उदाहरण भी हैं, जो इस तथ्य की पुष्टि करते हैं। कटे-पिटे मार्ग पर फंसे सार्थ को बाहर निकालने का शुल्क दो कार्षापण प्रति शकट था,[28] तो नृत्य-संगीत प्रस्तुत कर मनोरंजन करने वाले सहस्त्र कार्षापण तक अर्जित

करते प्रदर्शित हैं।[29] निपुणता प्राप्त श्रम का वैशिष्ट्य तो काशी के दर्जियों में पाया जा सकता है, जो एक हजार कार्षापण तक पारिश्रमिक किसी-किसी दिन ग्रहण कर सकते थे।[30]

इन तथ्यों के प्रकाश में किंचित महत्व के प्रश्न अब द्रष्टव्य हैं। मुद्रा-प्रसार के युग में जहां एक वर्ग कार्षापण से अटखेल कर रहा था, वहीं व्यापक जनसमुदाय सिक्कों के सामान्य खंड-प्रखंड के लिए अहर्निशः श्रम में डूबा रहता था। द्रव्यमान पर स्थित अर्थव्यवस्था ने ऐसा क्या प्रभाव डाला कि यजमानी प्रथा तथा वस्तु-विनिमय सहित ग्राम जीवन के दूसरे वैशिष्ट्य की चूलें हिलने लगीं। कृषि सहित औद्योगिक उत्पादन वृद्धि के होते वस्तुओं के ऐसे ऊंचे मूल्य कि साधारण आय के व्यक्ति की पहुंच से बाहर हों, ऐसा क्यों! सामान्य श्रम का मूल्य जहां नगण्य था, वहां कुशल श्रम का मूल्य तुलनात्मक रूप से ऐसा उच्च क्यों था?

इन सबका एकाकी हेतु नागर प्रतिमानों की सर्वोपरि स्थिति तथा द्रव्यमान पर आधारित व्यवस्था का आर्थिक-सामाजिक जीवन को चमत्कृत कर देना निर्दिष्ट किया जाता सकता है। अपेक्षाकृत अत्यल्प मूल्य पर श्रम की सुलभता से नागर क्रांति तो सफलीभूत हुई, परंतु श्रेष्ठियों, महाश्रेष्ठियों, चुलश्रेष्ठियों, गृहपतियों आदि के उत्पादन-वितरण के स्रोतों पर अधिग्रहण के कारण अर्थव्यवस्था का प्रवाह उन्मुक्त न हो सका। इसके कारण नगरों की श्रीवृद्धि तो हुई, लेकिन ग्राम उस तीव्रता के साथ नवोन्मेष में सम्मिलित न हो पाये। द्रव्यमान प्रधान व्यवस्था ने उपभोक्ता वर्ग के विकास का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया। उपभोक्ता वर्ग को परिपुष्ट करने में सरकारी तंत्र की सुदृढ़ता तथा नव धार्मिक जागरण का भी हाथ था। उत्पादन-वृद्धि के साथ कदम-ताल करती मूल्य-वृद्धि का निमित्त भी अर्थवान उपभोक्ता वर्ग ही कहा जा सकता है। उपभोक्ताओं की निरंतर परिष्कृत अभिरुचि ने श्रम को निपुणता प्रदान की, जिसके कारण उसके उत्पाद का मूल्य बढ़ता गया।

संदर्भ

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प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास-परंपरा और राजतरंगिणी

अतुल कुमार सिन्हा*

प्राचीन भारतीयों की इतिहास-विषयक तटस्थता अथवा उदासीनता के बहुप्रचारित 'मिथक' के भ्रमपूर्ण कुहासे में भी प्राचीन कश्मीर के इतिहास से संबंधित कल्हणकृत राजतरंगिणी की ऐतिहासिक महत्ता सर्वमान्य है। बाशम के अनुसार यह प्राचीन भारत की एकमात्र ऐतिहासिक कृति है जिसे विश्व के किसी भी स्तरीय ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथ के समकक्ष रखा जा सकता है।[1] राजतरंगिणी के इस ऐतिहासिक स्वरूप की महत्ता का प्रमुख आधार इस ग्रंथ के प्रणयन में इसके लेखक द्वारा अपनायी गयी वह 'राग-द्वेष-बहिष्कृत' पद्धति है जो ऐतिहासिक सत्य के याथार्थिक उद्घाटन के लिए अपरिहार्य है और जिसे इतिहास की आधुनिक अवधारणा में 'वस्तुनिष्ठता' की संज्ञा से सर्वस्वीकृत वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन-पद्धति का भारतीय पूर्व रूप कहा जा सकता है। इसके साथ ही पूर्वकालीन स्रोतों का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन देश-काल संबंधी तथ्यपरक निश्चयता, वक्तव्यों तथा मंतव्यों की स्पष्टता, भौगोलिक तथ्यों की अनुपेक्षा, पात्रों तथा चरित्रों से संबंधित वर्णनों में स्वाभाविकता तथा निष्पक्षता आदि तत्व राजतरंगिणी को ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथ की निर्विवाद मान्यता दिलाने में अपनी-अपनी भूमिका का निर्वाह करते हैं[2] और ये सभी तत्व इतिहास की आधुनिक अवधारणा के अनुरूप ऐतिहासिकता निर्धारण के लिए अनिवार्य एवं अपरिहार्य माने जाते हैं। इसी के साथ यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि वस्तुनिष्ठता की मूल चेतना से संवलित इतिहास की आधुनिक अवधारणा वस्तुत: प्राचीन यूनानी चिंतन में जांच-पड़ताल, गवेषणा और अनुसंधान के मूलभावों के समन्वयन द्वारा विकसित 'हिंस्ट्री' की उस अवधारणा का ही सातत्य है जिसके अंतर्गत ऐतिहासिक ज्ञान को साक्ष्याधारित एवं तथ्यानुरूप बनाकर उसमें अंतर्निहित निश्चयता, स्पष्टता तथा प्रदर्शनीयता के आधार पर उसका आभासी ज्ञान से (doxa) विभेद स्थापित करते हुए उसे वास्तविक ज्ञान (epistemi) में रूपांतरित कर दिया गया था।[3] प्राचीन यूनानियों द्वारा अवधारित epistemi से प्रारंभ कर आधुनिक 'न कम न अधिक विज्ञान' तक की यात्रा में देश-काल-व्यवहार से संबंधित कतिपय महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तनों के बावजूद 'हिस्ट्री' की अवधारणा में 'जांच-पड़ताल, गवेषणा और अनुसंधान' की मूल चेतना का नैरंतर्य बना ही रहा और इसलिए साक्ष्यपरकता और तथ्यपरकता उसकी प्रकृति के अभिन्न अंग बने रहे। किंतु भारतीय संदर्भ में देखने पर 'हिस्ट्री' की यह अवधारणा कथित रूप से अपने भारतीय प्रतिरूप इतिहास की अवधारणा से मेल नहीं खाती, यद्यपि दोनों में 'अतीतपरकता' की केंद्रीय प्रधानता होने के कारण सामान्यत: वे दोनों एक दूसरे के पर्याय के रूप में समझे जाते रहे हैं। वस्तुत: 'हिस्ट्री' तथा 'इतिहास' दो सांस्कृतिक अभिव्यक्तियां हैं जिनकी अलग-अलग सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि होने के कारण अलग-अलग अर्थ-बोध हैं और वे अपने-अपने संस्कृतिगत मूल्यों के साथ संदर्भित होकर अपनी-अपनी निजी अर्थवत्ता का निर्वहन करते हैं।[4] हिस्ट्री की तथ्यप्रधान-साक्ष्यप्रधान प्रकृति के विपरीत इतिहास की प्रकृति 'ऐतिह्य प्रधान' है जिसमें पारंपरिकता का तत्व अधिक प्रभावी होता है। प्राचीन भारतीयों में इतिहास चेतना का

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'आरोपित' अभाव वास्तव में इतिहास को हिस्ट्री से आच्छादित करके देखने का परिणाम है और इसीलिए इसका कोई 'ऐतिहासिक' आधार नहीं है।[5] हिस्ट्री और इतिहास की अवधारणाओं का यह अंतर क्या राजतरंगिणी के ऐतिहासिक मूल्यांकन का कोई नया आयाम प्रस्तुत करता है क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि राजतरंगिणी की भारत के एकमात्र ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथ के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा हिस्ट्री के मानकों पर आधारित है? क्या इतिहास की अवधारणा के अनुरूप और भारतीय इतिहास-परंपरा के अंतर्गत राजतरंगिणी के ऐतिहासिक रूप का मूल्यांकन किया जा सकता है, प्रस्तुत लेख इसी बिंदु को समझने के प्रति उद्दिष्ट है।

आठ तरंगों में विभाजित राजतरंगिणी[6] में कश्मीर की पौराणिक उत्पत्ति से प्रारंभ कर कल्हण के अपने समय तक का इतिहास प्रस्तुत किया गया है जिसके प्रणयन में आधारभूत स्रोत-सामग्री के रूप में आलोचनात्मक दृष्टि से नीलमतपुराण के अतिरिक्त सुव्रत, क्षेमेंद्र, पद्ममिहिर तथा छविल्लकार आदि की कश्मीर के इतिहास से संबंधित कृतियों समेत ग्यारह पूर्वकालीन ग्रंथों का उपयोग किया गया है। इनके अतिरिक्त राजकीय आज्ञापत्रों, दानपत्रों, अभिलेखों, मुद्राओं, प्रशस्तियों के साथ ही साथ अन्य पारंपरिक स्रोतों का भी कल्हण ने समीक्षात्मक उपयोग किया है।[7] राजतरंगिणी का रचनाकाल अंत: स्रोतों के आधार पर लौकिक वर्ष 4224-25 अर्थात् 1148-49 ई. ज्ञात होता है।[8] कथानक की दृष्टि से प्रथम तीन तरंगों में कश्मीर के बावन पौराणिक शासकों के शासनकाल का वर्णन किया गया है जिनकी ऐतिहासिकता संदिग्ध है। अगली दो तरंगों में कार्कोट तथा उत्पल वंशी राजाओं की उपलब्धियों का वर्णन किया गया है और यहीं से राजतरंगिणी का कथानक अपना ऐतिहासिक कलेवर ग्रहण करता हुआ दिखायी देता है। अंतिम तीन तरंगों में लोहार वंश का इतिहास प्रस्तुत किया गया है जिसकी प्रामाणिकता का परीक्षण अन्य स्रोतों से प्राप्त विवरणों के आधार पर किया जा सकता है।[9] कल्हण के व्यक्तित्व से संबंधित कतिपय सूचनायें राजतरंगिणी से प्राप्त होती हैं जिनमें उन्हें भार्गव कुल के सारस्वत ब्राह्मण के रूप में बताया गया है। उनके पिता चम्पक का राजमंत्री के रूप में वर्णन तथा कल्हण की बहुमुखी प्रतिभा का निदर्शन राजतरंगिणी में प्राप्त होता है। कल्हण के बाद क्रमश: जोनराज, श्रीवर तथा संयुक्त रूप से प्राज्यभट्ट एवं शुक द्वारा कम से कम तीन राजतरंगिणियों के प्रणयन की जानकारी हमें होती है जिनमें कश्मीर का परवर्ती इतिहास वर्णित किया गया है।[10]

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास-परंपरा में राजतरंगिणी के ऐतिहासिक मूल्यांकन के प्रयास से पूर्व प्राचीन भारत में इतिहास की अवधारणा और इतिहास-परंपरा के स्वरूप पर दृष्टिपात करना उचित होगा। 'इतिह' अथवा 'ऐतिह्य'[11] की मूल चेतना से विकसित इतिहास की भारतीय अवधारणा में '*ऐतिह्य पारंपर्योपदेश:*' तथा '*ऐतिह्य स्मृतिर्प्रत्यक्षं*' के अनुरूप (मूल्यपरक) परंपराओं के उपदेशन द्वारा स्मृति के प्रत्यक्षीकरण का मूल भाव था जिसका अभिप्राय अतीतकालीन जीवन मूल्यों की परंपरा को आने वाली पीढ़ी तक संप्रेषित करना समझा जा सकता है।[12] इस ऐतिह्य प्रधान इतिहास की अवधारणा में इस प्रकार, दो तत्वों का समन्वयन दिखायी पड़ता है। स्मृति का प्रत्यक्षीकरण, अर्थात् कार के शब्दों में अतीत और वर्तमान के बीच अनवरत संवाद[13] (क्योंकि स्मृति का संबंध अतीत से है और प्रत्यक्षीकरण वर्तमान में ही संभव हो सकता है) तथा परंपराओं का उपदेश अर्थात् भावी पीढ़ी तक जीवन मूल्यों का संप्रेषण।[14] इन तत्वों की व्याख्या से इतिहास की भारतीय अवधारणा जिस रूप में हमारे सामने आती है उसमें 'तथ्य' पर मूल्य की वरीयता स्पष्ट तौर पर स्थापित होती हुई दिखायी देती है[15] और इसी स्तर पर इतिहास 'हिस्ट्री' से अपना पार्थक्य

घोषित करता प्रतीत होता है। इस मूल बिंदु से विकसित इतिहास की मूल्यपरक अवधारणा अपनी व्याप्ति में पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टय के चारों मूल्यों-धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष के उपदेश से समन्वित कथाओं तथा पूर्व वृत्तों[16] को समाविष्ट कर देश-काल-संबंधी तथ्यों को एकमात्र ऐतिहासिक मान लेने के उस मूल भाव का निरास करती है जो हिस्ट्री की अवधारणा में सर्वथा अपरिहार्य है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह नहीं है कि हिस्ट्री में मूल्य का कोई स्थान ही नहीं है या इतिहास में तथ्य सर्वथा उपेक्षणीय है बल्कि हमारा उद्देश्य हिस्ट्री और इतिहास की अवधारणाओं के बीच उस सूक्ष्म अंतर को उभारना है जो दोनों की अलग-अलग सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि और वैचारिक परिवेश के कारण उनके अलग-अलग रूप में विकसित होने का मूल कारण बनता है और जिसे समझे बिना इन अवधारणाओं के ऐकांतिक वैशिष्ट्य को अंतस्थ करना संभव नहीं है।[17] इस मूल्यप्रधान और उपदेशपरक अवधारणा के कारण इतिहास की परिधि अत्यंत व्यापक हो जाती है जिसकी स्पष्ट झलक अर्थशास्त्र में देखने को मिलती है जहां पुराण, इतिवृत्त, आख्यायिका, उदाहरण, धर्मशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र को सामग्रिक रूप से इतिहास बताया गया है।[18] इस प्रकार जीवन मूल्यों अथवा संस्कृतिपरक मूल्यों का उपदेश (संप्रेषण) करने वाले सभी स्रोत 'ऐतिहासिक' हैं, भले ही तथ्यात्मक तौर पर परीक्षण करने पर वे 'अनैतिहासिक' (नॉन हिस्ट्रॉरिकल) प्रतीत होते हों। तथ्यों पर मूल्यों की इस प्रधानता के कारण ही इतिहास सनातन भी हो सकता है जैसा कि महाभारत में कई स्थानों पर 'एष इतिहास सनातन:' की उद्घोषणा से ज्ञात होता है। इतिहास की यह अवधारणा अपने रूप वैशिष्ट्य के आधार पर कहीं 'आर्ष शब्द' में स्वयं को अभिव्यक्त करती है तो कहीं प्रत्यक्ष को परिदृश्यमान करते हुए आगमिक अर्थों को स्पष्ट करने के लिए कर्म-फल संबंध स्वभाव में रूप लाभ करती है।[19] इतिहास की भारतीय अवधारणा इस प्रकार भारतीय संस्कृति के मूलभूत तत्वों जैसे कर्म, पुनर्जन्म, भाग्यवाद, अवतारवाद, वैराग्य चेतना आदि की सामग्रिक व्याप्ति में अपनी काया का विस्तार प्राप्त करती है और इस तथ्य की पुष्टि का आधार प्रस्तुत करती है कि इतिहास चेतना वस्तुत: संस्कृति चेतना का ही एक प्रतिरूप है और अंततोगत्वा सारा इतिहास मूल्यों का इतिहास ही होता है क्योंकि संस्कृति भी मूल्यों के समुच्चय के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है।[20]

इतिहास की इस अवधारणा को दृष्टिगत करते हुए राजतरंगिणी के ऐतिहासिक मूल्यांकन का कोई भी प्रयास यद्यपि संस्कृति सापेक्ष होने के आरोप से नहीं बच सकता तथापि वही उसकी ऐतिहासिकता का वास्तविक आधार भी होगा क्योंकि पूर्व में संकेतित है कि इतिहास का मूल चरित्र संस्कृति-सापेक्ष ही हो सकता है। कहा जाता है कि किसी भी इतिहास कृति के अर्थ तब अधिक स्पष्ट होते हैं जब उसके लेखक के व्यक्तित्व, उसकी मानसिकता और उसके मंतव्य को अच्छी तरह जान लिया जाए।[21] इस दृष्टि से राजतरंगिणी के ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन के विषय में कोई भी चर्चा प्रारंभ करने के पूर्व यह स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिए कि कल्हण का उद्देश्य कश्मीर के विषय में किसी इतिहास ग्रंथ का प्रणयन करना नहीं था बल्कि उसने राजतरंगिणी की रचना काव्य के रूप में की थी।[22] उसका मानना था कि मनोहारी रचना का सृजन करने में प्रजापति से सादृश्य रखने वाले सुकवि के अतिरिक्त अन्य कौन मनुष्य के समक्ष अतीत को प्रकट कर सकता है।[23] काव्यशास्त्रीय आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप अलंकारशास्त्र का यथावश्यकता निर्वाह और एक निश्चित रस शांत रस का चयन करके कल्हण ने राजतरंगिणी के 'काव्य' होने का प्रमाण भी प्रस्तुत कर दिया है।[24] तथापि अतीत को प्रकट करने का भाव राजतरंगिणी के काव्यत्व में इतिहासत्व को समाहित कर देता है।[25] इस बिंदु पर यह अभिकथन अनुचित नहीं होगा कि "न केवल भारतीय बल्कि

क्लासिकी साहित्य परंपरा में भी इतिहास के विकास में काव्य से घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है और इतिहास पिता हेरोडोटस को दूसरा होमर अकारण ही नहीं कहा गया है।[26] थ्यूसीडाइडिज तथा पॉलीबियस के काफी बाद रोम में इतिहास के अंतर्गत काव्य कला के प्रदर्शन तथा नैतिकता बोध जाग्रत करने के उद्देश्य से उपयोगी तथ्यों के संग्रहण पर बल दिया जाता था।[27] भारतीय संदर्भ में देखने पर हमें ज्ञात होता है कि "प्रथम शताब्दी ई. से काव्य उस क्षेत्र में अतिक्रमण करता दिखायी पड़ता है जो पहले इतिहास का क्षेत्र माना जाता था" और "इन ऐतिहासिक काव्यों में तथ्य संप्रेषण के स्थान पर अप्रत्यक्ष तथा लक्षणात्मक अभिकथन मिलते हैं जिनका मूल उद्देश्य सौंदर्यशास्त्रीय प्रभाव उत्पन्न करना है" तथा "इस प्रकार गौण इतिहास-लेखन के साथ ही प्राथमिक इतिहास-लेखन विद्या में भी तथ्य पक्ष की अपेक्षा कला पक्ष की सर्वोपरिता प्रतिष्ठापित होने लगी।[28]" इस प्रकार के ऐतिहासिक लेखन के उदाहरण **चरित** ग्रंथ कहे जा सकते हैं जिनके कथानक ऐतिहासिक होते हुए भी उनके इतिहास को काव्य पराभूत कर लेता है। किंतु राजतरंगिणी के संदर्भ में यह स्थिति विपरीत रूप में लागू होती है। कल्हण द्वारा काव्य घोषित किए जाने और कतिपय काव्योचित लक्षणों से संपन्न होने के बावजूद राजतरंगिणी अपनी प्रत्यक्षता, स्पष्टकथनता, निष्पक्षता, साक्ष्यपरकता आदि गुणों के कारण काव्य के परंपरागत प्रकारों में अपना वैशिष्ट्य स्थापित कर देती है[29] और भारतीय इतिहास-परंपरा के पूर्वोक्त लक्षणों को आत्मसात करती हुई अपने ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व के विकास का पथ प्रशस्त करती है। ऐतिह्य के दोनों लक्षणों अर्थात् स्मृति का प्रत्यक्षीकरण तथा परंपराओं का उपदेश समवेत रूप में कल्हण के उस कथन में अपनी अभिव्यक्ति प्राप्त करते हैं जिसमें वह राजतरंगिणी की रचना भावी पीढ़ी के शिक्षण के उद्देश्य से की गयी बताता है।[30] ऐतिहासिक सत्य की प्रतिष्ठा के लिए काव्योचित अनिवार्यताओं का बलिदान कर देने की कल्हण की प्रवृत्ति राजतरंगिणी की ऐतिहासिक स्रोत के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा का आधार प्रस्तुत करती है।

साक्ष्याधारित और तथ्यपरक विवरण प्रस्तुत करने की प्रवृत्ति के बावजूद राजतरंगिणी में स्थान-स्थान पर पौराणिकता, भाग्यवाद, कर्मफलवाद, शकुन विचार आदि का समावेश दिखायी देता है जो घोषाल के अनुसार राजतरंगिणी के इतिहास रूप पर प्रश्नचिह्न है।[31] किंतु इतिहास की अवधारणा व्याप्ति को संदर्भित करके देखने पर राजतरंगिणी की उपर्युक्त समाविष्टियां उसके ऐतिहासिक रूप की पुष्टि ही करती हैं और घोषाल के मत की समीचीनता हिस्ट्री के संदर्भ में ही सीमित रह जाती है।

भारतीय-इतिहास परंपरा में हर्षचरित और राजतरंगिणी को उनके विकसित ऐतिहासिक स्वरूप के कारण इतिवृत्त की श्रेणी में रखा गया है[32] और पूर्व में यह उल्लेख किया जा चुका है कि इतिवृत्त भारतीय इतिहास-लेखन का एक प्रकार माना जाता है जिसकी गणना अर्थशास्त्र में उल्लिखित इतिहास-लेखन के प्रकारों में पुराण के बाद की गयी है। पाठक ने इस बात की ओर हमारा ध्यान दिलाया है कि कश्मीर में इतिहास-लेखन की एक सशक्त परंपरा थी जिसके सूत्र, उनके अनुसार, वैदिक कालीन इतिहास-लेखन की 'भृग्वांगिरस' अथवा 'अथर्वांगिरस' परंपरा से जुड़े होने की संभावना है।[33] कल्हण का संबंध कश्मीर से होने एवं वंश परिचय में उनके भार्गव कुल की सारस्वत शाखा[34] से संबंधित होने के तथ्य से इस बात की संभावना प्रबल हो जाती है कि वे न केवल इतिहास-लेखन की इस सशक्त परंपरा से परिचित रहे होंगे बल्कि इस परंपरा के पालन-अनुसरण में उन्होंने इतिहास-लेखन में रुचि विकसित की होगी और इसी के परिणामस्वरूप राजतरंगिणी का प्रणयन हुआ। जिसे काव्य

घोषित करते हुए भी कल्हण ने इतिहास से अधिक दूर नहीं जाने दिया, बल्कि यह कहना शायद अधिक उचित होगा कि उन्होंने इतिहास को ही संभाला, काव्य की अधिक चिंता नहीं की।[35] इतिहास-लेखन के विकास के लिए राजतरंगिणी ने कश्मीरी लेखकों के लिए प्रेरणास्रोत का भी काम किया क्योंकि हमें ज्ञात है कि कल्हण की राजतरंगिणी के बाद कम से कम तीन राजतरंगिणियों का प्रणयन इसी परंपरा में हुआ जिसका श्रेय क्रमशः जोनराज, श्रीवर तथा संयुक्त रूप से प्राज्यभट्ट तथा शुक को जाता है और जो कल्हणकृत राजतरंगिणी के पारंपरिक नैरंतर्य का प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है।

राजतरंगिणी इस प्रकार, प्रथमतः काव्य रूप होते हुए भी अपनी संपूर्णता में भारतीय इतिहास-परंपरा से अपना अभिन्न संबंध स्थापित करती है। अपनी काव्यशास्त्रीय अनिवार्यताओं को इतिहास की आवश्यकतानुसार बलिदान करते हुए भारतीय इतिहास की परंपरागत विशेषताओं को इस तरह आत्मसात कर लेती है कि इतिहास स्रोत के रूप में उसके मूल्यांकन के सारे विकल्प अशेष हो जाते हैं और राजतरंगिणी न केवल हिस्ट्रॉरिकल बल्कि ऐतिहासिक कृति के रूप में भी अपनी प्रतिष्ठा निर्विवादतः प्राप्त करती है।

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बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास लेखन

प्रज्ञा चतुर्वेदी*

ई.पू. छठी शती में बुद्ध द्वारा प्रवर्तित बौद्ध मत श्रमण संस्कृति के एक अतिविशिष्ट संप्रदाय के रूप में स्वीकृत है। बुद्ध के आकर्षक व्यक्तित्व, जनभाषा के प्रयोग, भिक्षु जीवन के संगठन, राजकीय संरक्षण एवं बौद्ध शिक्षाओं में निहित उदारता के कारण यह मत बुद्ध के परिनिर्वाण के बाद की लगभग पांच शताब्दियों में न केवल समूचे भारतवर्ष में व्याप्त हुआ अपितु मौर्य एवं कुषाण कालों में एशिया महाद्वीप के प्रमुख धर्म के रूप में प्रख्यात हुआ।

बौद्ध धर्म विषयक जिज्ञासा का प्रादुर्भाव यूरोपीय देशों में कब हुआ, यह कहना दुष्कर है। ई.पू. चतुर्थ शती के उत्तरार्द्ध में सिकंदर के आक्रमण ने भारत एवं यूनान के मध्य संपर्क का एक नवीन सूत्र स्थापित किया था। परंतु सिकंदर के साथ आने वाले लेखकों के वृत्तांतों में बौद्ध धर्म का कोई भी उल्लेख प्राप्त नहीं है। चंद्रगुप्त मौर्य के काल में आने वाले यवनदूत मेगस्थनीज ने ब्राह्मण एवं श्रमण का उल्लेख किया है, परंतु यहां श्रमण का अभिप्राय अस्पष्ट है। यूनानी स्रोतों में बौद्ध मत का प्रथम स्पष्ट उल्लेख मेगस्थनीज से लगभग 500 वर्ष बाद एलेक्जंडरिया के क्लीमेंट द्वारा रचित स्ट्रोमेटीज (लगभग 200 ई.) में मिलता है। उसने बुद्ध (Boutta) की शिक्षाओं का अनुकरण करने वाले तथा देवतारूप में उनका सम्मान करने वाले भारतीयों का वर्णन किया है। क्लीमेंट से लगभग 200 वर्ष बाद हाइरोनिमस (± 347-419) ने भी बुद्ध के जन्म की कथा का उल्लेख किया है।

परवर्ती शताब्दियों में पाश्चात्य स्रोत पुन: बौद्ध धर्म के अस्तित्व के विषय में मौन हैं। इस स्थिति का निराकरण 13 वीं शती के अनंतर ही हो पाता है। इस शती के उत्तरार्द्ध में चीन, तिब्बत, भारत एवं श्रीलंका का भ्रमण करने वाले इतालवी यात्री मार्कोपोलो ने अपने यात्रा त्रिवरण डिस्किप्सन आव द वर्ल्ड में बौद्ध मत के प्रचलन के अतिरिक्त बुद्ध के जीवन पर प्रकाश डाला है। 1497-98 ई. में वास्कोडि-गामा की भारतीय यात्रा ने भारत तथा पाश्चात्य जगत्र के मध्य संपर्क का एक नवीन अध्याय प्रवर्तित किया। फलस्वरूप आगामी शताब्दियों में इसाई मत के प्रचार हेतु अनेक इसाई धर्मप्रचारक भारत, चीन, जापान, श्रीलंका, इंडोनेशिया आदि देशों में प्रेषित किए गए। 16वीं, 17वीं एवं 18वीं सदियों में इन प्रचारकों ने बौद्ध धर्म के विषय में जो कुछ भी सुना उसका विवरण उन्होंने पत्रों के माध्यम से अपने देशवासियों को प्रेषित किया। ध्यातव्य है कि यह विवरण बौद्ध साहित्य के अध्ययन पर आधारित न होकर मूलत: श्रुति परंपरा पर आधारित था। परंतु इसकी महत्ता इस दृष्टि से है कि यूरोपवासियों को एशिया में बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचलन के विषय में महत्वपूर्ण सूचना प्राप्त हो सकी।

वस्तुत: साहित्यिक स्रोतों के आधार पर बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन एवं अनुशीलन की प्रक्रिया का सूत्रपात 19वीं शती में ही संभव हो सका। इस अध्ययन के विकास की विविध प्रवृत्तियों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए 19वीं शती से लेकर आज तक इसे निम्नोक्त तीन चरणों

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के अंतर्गत विवेचित किया जा सकता है: प्रथम चरण (1801 ई. से 1877 ई.); द्वितीय चरण (1877 ई. से 1942 ई.); तृतीय चरण (1942 ई. से अद्यावधि)

प्रथम चरण

बौद्ध धर्म के साहित्यिक स्रोतों के अध्ययन की परंपरा का सूत्रपात ई. बर्नाफ (1801-1852 ई.) एवं क्रिश्चियन लॉसेन (1800-1876 ई.) के द्वारा पालि व्याकरण *Essai-sur-le- Pāli* (पेरिस, 1826) के प्रकाशन से होता है। बर्नाफ ने इस कृति के प्रारंभ में 1826 ई. तक किए गए अध्ययन का संक्षिप्त इतिहास भी प्रस्तुत किया। उसने विशेषत: फ्रांसीसी शासक लुई चतुर्दश के द्वारा स्याम में दूत के रूप में प्रेषित साइमन-डे-ला-लुबेरे का उल्लेख किया है जिसने अपनी यात्रा (1687-88) के अंतर्गत देवदत्त की जीवनी का अनुवाद तथा 'पातिमोक्ख' का सारांश प्रस्तुत किया था। 1827 ई. में बर्नाफ ने 30 पृष्ठों की एक लघु पुस्तिका प्रकाशित की जिसमें उसने बौद्ध ग्रंथ 'महावंश' एवं पालि शब्दकोश 'अभिधानप्पदीपिका' को उद्धृत किया। उसने दिव्यावदान, अवदानशतक, अष्टसाहस्त्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता, कारंडव्यूह सदृश अनेक कृतियों का अनुवाद किया और इस तथ्य पर बल दिया कि भारतीय बौद्ध धर्म का अध्ययन श्रीलंका से प्राप्त पालि स्रोतों तथा नेपाल एवं तिब्बत से प्राप्त संस्कृत ग्रंथों के बिना नहीं किया जा सकता। वस्तुत: बर्नाफ को बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन की परंपरा का जनक माना जा सकता है। वह आजीवन बौद्ध धर्म के पालि स्रोतों के अध्ययन में लगा रहा; उसने पालि व्याकरण तथा पालिशब्दकोश के लिए पर्याप्त सामग्री का संकलन भी किया। परंतु असामायिक मृत्यु के कारण उसके जीवनकाल में इस सामग्री का प्रकाशन नहीं हो सका।

संभवत: बर्नाफ एवं लॉसेन को *Essai-sur-le-Pāli* के लेखन के पूर्व इस तथ्य का ज्ञान नहीं था कि पालि व्याकरण से संबंधित एक अन्य ग्रंथ का प्रकाशन पहले ही किया जा चुका है। 1824 ई. में बेन्जामिन क्लफ नामक एक इसाई प्रचारक ने कोलंबो में *A Compendious Pāli Grammar* का प्रकाशन किया। श्रीलंका में लिखे गए पालि ग्रंथों में जार्ज टर्नर के द्वारा लिखे गए महावंश के प्रथम 38 अध्यायों का मूलपाठ एवं अनुवाद भी महत्वपूर्ण हैं। उन्होंने जर्नल आव एशियाटिक सोसायटी आव बंगाल में कुछ अन्य महत्वपूर्ण लेख भी प्रकाशित किए। इसी समय एक अन्य इसाई प्रचारक जे. गोगली (1792-1862ई.) ने सीलोन फ्रेन्ड नामक पत्रिका में पातिमोक्ख का अनुवाद तथा कुछ महत्वपूर्ण लेख प्रकाशित किए।

पालि व्याकरण एवं पालि शब्दकोश के प्रकाशन तथा योरोपीय देशों में भारतीय विद्या के विविध केंद्रों की स्थापना ने बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन को एक नई दिशा प्रदान की।

द्वितीय चरण

प्रथम चरण के अंतर्गत बौद्ध धर्म के साहित्यिक स्रोतों के अध्ययन की जिस प्रक्रिया का अंकुरण हुआ, उसका पल्लवन द्वितीय चरण में देखा जा सकता है। 1877 ई. में फास बॉल के द्वारा जातक ग्रंथों के प्रथम खंड के प्रकाशन से इसका प्रवर्तन होता है। इस चरण की विशिष्टता के द्योतक कतिपय तथ्य इस प्रकार हैं:

पालि ग्रंथों के मूलपाठ तथा अनुवाद के प्रकाशन में बहुलता; इन ग्रंथों के साथ ही संस्कृत ग्रंथों का प्रकाशन; 1881 ई. में पालि टेक्स्ट् सोसायटी का गठन; विदित स्रोतों के आधार पर बुद्ध की जीवनी का निर्धारण; बौद्ध संगीतियों की ऐतिहासिकता का परीक्षण;

ब्राह्मण धर्म एवं बौद्ध धर्म का संबंध विवेचन; अशोक के लेखों के अध्ययन के आधार पर भिक्षुधर्म से पृथक उपासक बौद्ध धर्म के अस्तित्व का प्रकाशन; मध्य एशिया में बौद्ध धर्म विषयक विविध पांडुलिपियों की खोज और इस धर्म के स्वरूप विवेचन में तिब्बती एवं चीनी स्रोतों का अध्ययन।

1881 ई. में टी. डब्ल्यू रीजडेविड्स के द्वारा पालि टेक्स्ट सोसायटी की स्थापना इस अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण कदम कहा जा सकता है। इस चरण में प्रकाशित रचनाओं में ओल्डेनबर्ग द्वारा संपादित दीपवंस (1879), ट्रेंकनेर के 'मिलिंदपन्ह' (1880), सेक्रेड बुक्स ऑव द ईस्ट' श्रृंखला में ओल्डेनबर्ग एवं रीजडेविड्स के द्वारा प्रकाशित पातिक्ख, महावग्ग एवं चुल्लवग्ग के अनुवाद तथा पालि टेक्स्ट सोसायटी द्वारा पांच **निकाय** ग्रंथों का प्रकाशन मुख्यत: उल्लेखनीय है। इसी प्रकार संस्कृत बौद्ध साहित्य के क्षेत्र में राजेन्द्र लाल मित्र के द्वारा संपादित 'ललितविस्तर' (1852-1880), सेनार्ट के द्वारा महावस्तु (1882), मेक्समूलर के द्वारा वज्रछेदिका (1881) तथा सुखावतीव्यूह (1883) के अनुवाद प्रमुख हैं। इस परंपरा में ही 1891 ई. में कर्न ने हारवर्ड ओरियंटल सेरीज में जातकमाला, ए. सी. दास तथा हरिमोहन विद्याभूषण ने क्षेमेंद्र की अवदानकल्पलता (1888), मिनेव ने शांतिदेव के बोधिचर्यवतार (1889), पूसे ने प्रज्ञाकरगति की टीका (1898), कावेल ने बुद्धचरित (1893) तथा लेफमैन ने ललितविस्तर का नया संस्करण प्रकाशित किया।

विद्वानों की दृष्टि आकर्षित करने वाली प्रथम समस्या बुद्ध के जीवनी के निर्धारण की थी। इस प्रसंग में सेनार्ट, कर्न, रीज डेविड्स तथा ओल्डेनबर्ग के योगदान स्मरणीय हैं। कर्न ने बुद्ध के जीवन में अनेक दैवीय तत्वों की परिकल्पना की। उन्होंने बुद्ध को सौरमंडल में स्थित देवता, द्वादशनिदानों को वर्ष के 12 महीनों तथा बुद्ध के समकालीन छह विधर्मी आचार्यों को छह ग्रहों के रूप में कल्पित किया। 1877 ई. में रीजडेविड्स ने 'बुद्धिज्म बीइंग ए स्केच ऑव द लाइफ ऐंड टीचिंग्स ऑव गौतम, द बुद्ध' नामक ग्रंथ का प्रकाशन किया। ओल्डेनबर्ग ने बुद्ध, हिज लाइफ, हिजटीचिंग्स, हिज आर्डर नामक ग्रंथ लिखा। 1905 ई. में पूसे ने एक विस्तृत लेख द *बुद्धिस्ट कौंसिल्स* प्रकाशित करके यह दावा किया कि चीनी स्रोतों के अध्ययन के विना बौद्ध संगीतियों की ऐतिहासिकता पर निर्णायक विचार प्रस्तुत नहीं किया जा सकता।

इस चरण में ब्राह्मण धर्म, विशेषत: उपनिषद् तथा सांख्य योगादि दर्शनों में सन्निहित विचारों के साथ बौद्ध धर्म के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की परंपरा प्रारंभ हुई। ओल्डेनबर्ग ने बौद्ध धर्म की नैराश्यमूलक प्रवृत्ति को प्राचीन उपनिषदों में खोजने का प्रयास किया। 1881 ई. तक औपनिषदिक विचारों एवं बौद्ध धर्म के संबंधों को लेकर बहुत कुछ लिखा गया। 1925 ई. में पूसे ने अपने ग्रंथ बुद्धिज्म में उपनिषदों में बौद्धधर्म के स्वरूप को खोजने की प्रवृत्ति को अतिवादी घोषित किया।

इस चरण के अन्य मूर्धन्य विद्वानों में फ्राके (1862-1928), एस. ओल्डेनबर्ग (1863-1943), सिल्वॉ लेवी (1863-1935), स्चेर बत्स्की (1866-1942), एफ. डब्ल्यू. टामस (1867-1956), ई. जे. टॉमस (1869-1958), ला बेले पूसे (1869-1938) एवं हेनेरिक लूडर्स (1869-1943) के नाम मुख्यत: उल्लेखनीय हैं। सिल्वॉ लेवी का विचार था कि बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन के लिए भारतीय तिब्बती तथा चीनी स्रोतों का अध्ययन अत्यावश्यक है। अश्वघोष की रचनाओं ने उन्हें विशेष रूप से आकृष्ट किया था। सिल्वॉ लेवी द्वारा किए गए बुद्धचरित, सूत्रालंकार आदि के अनुवाद का प्रकाशन तथा वसुबंधु की विशंतिका एवं त्रिशिका की खोज प्रमुख हैं।

लावेले पूसे ने अपने ग्रंथ बुद्धिज्म में तांत्रिक बौद्ध धर्म पर एक पृथक अध्याय लिखकर बौद्ध धर्म के एक नवीन स्वरूप की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। उनकी कृतियों में *प्रसन्नपदा, बोधिचर्यावतारपंजिका* तथा तिब्बती ग्रंथ *मध्यमकावतार* प्रमुख हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त इनसाइक्लोपीडिया ऑव रेलिजन ऐंड एथिक्स में उनके द्वारा लिखे गए विविध लेखों से बौद्ध धर्म के विविध पक्षों पर व्यापक प्रकाश पड़ता है।

प्रिजिलुस्की (1885-1944) ने चीनी बौद्ध ग्रंथों का अध्ययन तथा अनुवाद करके बुद्ध के परिनिर्वाण एवं राजगृह की बौद्ध संगीति आदि विषयों पर उपयोगी सामग्री प्रकाशित की और बौद्ध धर्म के विविध संप्रदायों के अभ्युदय में भौगोलिक कारकों के महत्व पर बल दिया।

मिनेव, बूलर तथा जैकोबी की शिष्य परंपरा में स्चेरबत्स्की का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। 1903 ई. में उन्होंने धर्मकीर्ति के न्यायबिंदु तथा धर्मोत्तर की टीका का रूसी भाषा में अनुवाद प्रकाशित किया। स्चेरबत्स्की की अन्य कृतियों में द सेन्ट्रल कंशेप्शन ऑव बुद्धिज्म ऐंड द मीनिंग ऑव द वर्ड धर्म (लंदन, 1923), द कंप्शेप्सन ऑव बुद्धिस्ट निर्वाण (लेनिनगाड, 1927) प्रमुख हैं।

19वीं शती के अंतिम दशक में मध्य एशिया में हुए महत्वपूर्ण अनुसंधानों के कारण कुछ नवीन पांडुलिपियों की खोज की गई। इन पांडुलिपियों के प्रकाशन का कार्य सर्ज ओल्डेनबर्ग, अन्स्ट ल्यूमैन (1859-1931) तथा हार्नले (1841-1918) के द्वारा किया गया। इन शोधों के बाद मध्य एशिया में सर आरेल स्टीन, अल्बर्ट ग्रुनवेडेल, जार्जहुट, वानली काक, पी. पेलियट आदि विद्वानों के प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप संस्कृत, कूचियन, खोतानी, सोविडयन, तिब्बती, चीनी आदि अनेक भाषाओं में निबद्ध विविध पांडुलिपियां प्रकाश में आईं जिनके अध्ययन से बौद्ध मत के विवेचन में नई प्रगति हुई।

तृतीय चरण

इस चरण की महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धिओं में बौद्ध ग्रंथों में प्रयुक्त भाषा पर लिखे गए कतिपय ग्रंथ विशेषतः उल्लेखनीय हैं। 1953 ई. में फ्रैंकलिन इगर्टन (1885-1963) ने बुद्धिस्ट हाइब्रिड संस्कृत ग्रामर ऐंड डिक्शनरी (न्यू हेवेन, 1953) का प्रकाशन किया। बौद्ध ग्रंथों में प्रयुक्त संस्कृत भाषा पर बेली, नाबेल, स्मिथ, तथा कई अन्य विद्वानों ने पर्याप्त मंथन कर विविध शोधपत्र प्रकाशित किए। इस चरण में संस्कृत की उन पांडुलिपियों के प्रकाशन का महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया गया जो मूलतः जर्मन-तुर्फान अभियान द्वारा लाई गई थीं।

प्रारंभिक बौद्ध धर्म तथा महासांघिक संप्रदायों के अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में भी इस काल में विशेष प्रगति हुई। एन्द्रे बेरयू ने बौद्ध संप्रदायों तथा संगीतियों पर अपने अध्ययन प्रकाशित किए। ए. फाउचर ने भी बुद्ध की जीवनी पर 1949 में एक ग्रंथ लिखा। इसी काल में महासांघिक विनय की प्रमुख कृति महावस्तु के अनेक अध्ययन प्रकाशित हुए। रॉथ ने भिक्षुणीविनय का प्रकाशन कर महावस्तु के अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में एक नई दृष्टि का सूत्रपात किया। तृतीय चरण में महायान बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में हुई प्रगति भी दृष्टव्य है। एडवर्ड कांजे के प्रयास से प्रज्ञापारमिता सूत्रों के प्रकाशन से महायान मत के स्वरूप पर नया प्रकाश पड़ा। उन्होंने प्रज्ञापारमिताहृदयसूत्र, अभिसमयालंकार, वज्रछेदिका, दससाहस्त्रिका आदि पर टीकायें लिखीं। कांजे की अन्य कृतियों में बुद्धिज्म, इटर्स एसेस ऐंड डेवलपमेंट

(आक्सफोर्ड, 1951), बुद्धिस्ट थॉट इन इंडिया (लंदन, 1962), थर्टी इयर्स ऑव बुद्धिस्ट स्टडीज (आक्सफोर्ड, 1967) प्रमुख हैं। इस प्रसंग में लमोटे के द्वारा महाप्रज्ञापारमिताशास्त्र अथवा प्रज्ञापारमितोपदेश का टीका सहित अनुवाद भी अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है।

विगत चार दशकों में महायान दर्शन के विवेचन में भी पर्याप्त विकास हुआ है। ई. एच. जांस्टन एवं आर्नोल्ड के द्वारा नागार्जुन की विग्रहव्यावर्तिनी का टीका सहित अनुवाद प्रकाशित किया गया। टी. आर. बी. मूर्ति ने सेंट्रल फिलासफी ऑव बुद्धिज्म नामक ग्रंथ लिखा जो मुख्यत: महायान सूत्रों के अध्ययन पर आधारित है। चीनी बौद्धशास्त्र का अध्ययन कर योगाचार संप्रदाय के विषय में बहूमूल्य सामग्री प्रदान करने का कार्य वी. डेमीविल्ले, एलेक्स वेमेन, तुसी आदि विद्वानों के द्वारा किया गया।

यद्यपि तांत्रिक बौद्ध धर्म अभी भी उपेक्षित रहा, तथापि इस क्षेत्र में किए गए कुछ कार्य स्मरणीय हैं। तुसी ने तिबेटन पेन्टेड स्क्रालस की रचना करके भारतीय एवं तिब्बती तांत्रिक बौद्ध धर्म के विषय में अनेक उपयोगी सूचनाएं प्रकाशित कीं। तिब्बती बौद्ध धर्म एवं दर्शन के क्षेत्र में गुंथर की कृतियां स्मरणीय हैं। ट्रीजर्स आन द तिबेटन मिडिल वे (लीडेन, 1966), द रॉयल सांग ऑव सरहा (सीटिल, 1969), बुद्धिस्ट फिलॉसफी इन द थ्योरी ऐंड प्रेक्टिस (लंदन, 1972), द तांत्रिक व्यू ऑव लाइफ (1972) हैं।

बौद्ध धर्म के इतिहास-लेखन की इस परंपरा में भारतीय लेखकों की उन कृतियों का उल्लेख आवश्यक है जिनका छात्रों की दृष्टि से विशेष महत्व है। इनके अंतर्गत टी. आर. वी. मूर्ति की द सेंट्रल फिलासफी ऑव बुद्धिज्म (लंदन, 1955), नलिनाक्षदत्त की अर्ली मोनेस्टिक बुद्धिज्म (कलकत्ता, 1941), गोविन्दचन्द पाण्डे की स्टडीज इन द ओरिजिन्स ऑव बुद्धिज्म (इलाहाबाद, 1957), विनयतोष भट्टाचार्य की एन इंट्रोडक्शन टु बुद्धिस्ट इसोटरिज्म (मैसूर, 1932), आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव कृत बौद्धधर्म-दर्शन उल्लेखनीय हैं।

उपर्युक्त विपुलकाय साहित्य की संरचना के बाद भी बौद्ध धर्म के कुछ महत्वपूर्ण पक्षों का उद्घाटन नहीं हो सका है और तांत्रिक बौद्ध धर्म प्राय: उपेक्षित रहा है। अत: इस क्षेत्र में कार्य करने की पर्याप्त गुंजाइश है। एक अन्य आवश्यकता चीनी एवं तिब्बती स्त्रोतों के दोहन तथा तदनुरूप बौद्ध धर्म के स्वरूप विवेचन की है। इनके अतिरिक्त संग्रहालय में यत्र-तत्र बिखरी हुई पांडुलिपियों के प्रकाशन एवं अध्ययन की भी महती आवश्यकता है।

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कुषाण कालीन समाज में पिछड़ी जातियों की ऊर्ध्वगामी गतिशीलता

निशीथ राय*

वर्तमान में प्राचीन भारतीय सामाजिक व्यवस्था के नियामकों के ऊपर यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि उन्होंने एक ऐसी व्यवस्था समाज के ऊपर थोपी जो कि शोषण के ऊपर आधारित है। लेकिन प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्यिक, पुरातात्विक और भारत में आने वाले विदेशी यात्रियों के वृत्तांतों का अनुशीलन करने पर हम देखते हैं कि साक्ष्य इसके विपरीत हैं। समाज में अत्यंत प्राचीन काल से ही एक प्रकार की नमनीयता विद्यमान है। इसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के कार्यों का महत्व था, चाहे वह किसी भी वर्ण या जाति का सदस्य हो। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति और जीव को समान भावना से समझने और परखने का दर्शन भारतीय सामाजिक संस्थाओं में विकसित हुआ तथा उसने मनुष्य को सन्मार्ग का दिग्दर्शन कराया। कुषाणकाल में भी यही भावना न केवल विद्यमान रही, अपितु अपने उत्कर्ष पर भी पहुंच गयी। यह काल वैश्य वर्ण के लिए शायद स्वर्ण युग था। इस काल में शूद्रों के लिए भी विकास के अच्छे अवसर प्रस्तुत किए गए। विभिन्न व्यवसायों में शूद्रों ने वैश्यों के साथ कंधे से कंधे मिलाकर कार्य किया। इससे उनकी आर्थिक दशा में सुधार हुआ।

ईसा की प्रारंभिक शताब्दियों में भारत में एक बड़ा साम्राज्य स्थापित करने वाले कुषाण यद्यपि विदेशी थे, लेकिन उन्होंने स्वयं को भारतीय संस्कृति में पूर्णरूपेण विलयित कर दिया। कुषाणों ने भारत में लगभग तीन शताब्दियों से अधिक समय तक राज्य किया। कुषाण शक्ति एक विशाल भूभाग यथा भारत, पाकिस्तान, अफगानिस्तान, ईरान, मध्य एशिया के अनेक क्षेत्रों में समाहित होने के कारण तत्कालीन विश्व में विशेष महत्वपूर्ण रही तथा भारत का प्रभाव भारत के बाहर चीन, अफगानिस्तान, ईरान, मध्य एशिया आदि पर भी पड़ा। कुषाणों के शासनकाल में भारतीय संस्कृति एक सर्वथा नवीन संस्कृति के संपर्क में रही। फलस्वरूप जहां भारतीय संस्कृति ने उसे अनेक प्रकार से प्रभावित किया, स्वयं भी उससे प्रभावित हुए बिना न रह सकी जो नितांत स्वाभाविक था यद्यपि किसी भी शक्ति द्वारा बल प्रयोग नहीं किया गया। इस काल की अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण उन्नति विभिन्न मानवीय पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर हुई।

कुषाणकालीन आर्थिक उन्नति एक सर्वमान सत्य है जो सामाजिक उन्नति का अनिवार्य अंग है। आर्थिक उन्नति अधिक उत्पादन, स्वस्थ योजना एवं कार्यदक्षता पर आधारित थी। इस काल में कृषि क्षेत्र में एक नया परिवर्तन यह हुआ कि अब भूमि पर उसके मालिक का पूर्ण अधिकार हो गया तथा प्रशासन का हस्तक्षेप न्यूनतम हो गया। बंजर भूमि को उपजाऊ बनाने हेतु विशेष प्रोत्साहन दिया गया। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मौर्यकालीन राज्य प्रशासन द्वारा नियुक्त कृषि प्रमुख के अधीन दास और किराए के मजदूरों के स्थान पर कुषाणकाल में कृषि पर कृषकों का व्यक्तिगत अधिकार हो गया था। मनुस्मृति में वर्णित है कि व्यर्थ के पेड़ काट कर एवं भूमि की जुताई आदि करके बुआई योग्य बनाने वाले की भूमि होती है।[1] मिलिंदपन्हों में व्यक्तिगत कृषकों द्वारा बंजर पेड़ को साफ करके भूमि को

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जुताई योग्य बनाने के उदाहरण मिलते हैं।[2] बड़ी संख्या में व्यक्तिगत कृषकों द्वारा बुआई की जाती थी। यह भी विदित होता है कि मौर्यकालीन कर, जिनमें जबरन मजदूर बनाना, परोपकारिता एवं फलफूलों पर कर शामिल थे, कुषाणकाल में प्रचलित न रहे यद्यपि आपात् काल में इनका सहारा लिया जाता था। मिलिंदपन्हों में आये उल्लेख से स्पष्ट होता है कि इस काल में कर व्यवस्था में पूर्वकाल की अपेक्षा सुधार आया था।

अभिलेखों[5] से विदित होता है कि भू-धारण की अक्षयनीवी व्यवस्था का प्रतिपादन कुषाण शासकों ने ही किया था।[7] इस व्यवस्था में दाता को दी गयी संपत्ति पर ब्याज रूप में निश्चित समय तक निरंतर लाभ होता था। हुविष्क के राज्यकाल के 28वें वर्ष के मथुरा अभिलेख के विवरणानुसार इस नगर में कार्यरत दो श्रेणियों में से प्रत्येक के पास 550 पुराण नामक चांदी के सिक्के अक्षयनीवी धर्म के अंतर्गत जमा किए गए थे। प्रथम श्रेणी समितकरों की थी जो अनाज पीसते थे तथा दूसरी श्रेणी का मात्र "रक" - शब्द प्राप्त है। इस दान के पूर्व निश्चित हुआ था कि इस अक्षयनीवी पर प्राप्त ब्याज के धन से पुण्यशाला में 100 ब्राह्मणों को प्रतिमास भोजन कराया जायेगा तथा शेष से द्वार पर आए भूखे-प्यासों के हितार्थ प्रबंध किया जायेगा। बी. एन. मुखर्जी का कहना है कि उस समय व्यापारिक संघ के पास पर्याप्त धन और बल था जिससे वह सामाजिक, धार्मिक एवं आर्थिक प्रक्रियाओं को नियंत्रित करते थे।

कृषि के अतिरिक्त पशुपालन भी आर्थिक व्यवस्था का महत्वपूर्ण अंग था। बौद्ध साहित्य से विदित होता है कि उस समय पशुपालन एक विज्ञान के रूप में प्रतिपादित हो चुका था। ललितविस्तर में अश्वलक्षण, हस्तिलक्षण, गोलक्षण, अजलक्षण, मित्रलक्षण आदि के अध्ययन-अध्यापन का वर्णन हुआ है। पशुपालक, गोपालक, महिषीपालक एवं तृणहारकों की निजी श्रेणियों का होना निःसंदेह उनकी उन्नति का सूचक है।[8]

लोहे के उपकरणों के व्यापक प्रयोग से उद्योग के क्षेत्र में उल्लेखनीय प्रगति हुयी। पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक संख्या में मिलने वाले सिक्के विनिमय एवं व्यापार के क्षेत्र में विकास द्योतित करते हैं। प्रथम शताब्दी ई. से व्यापार में विशेष वृद्धि परिलक्षित होती है। समुद्री व्यापारियों के लिए साझापत्ती के नियमों की विस्तृत व्याख्या याज्ञवल्क्य तथा नारद स्मृतियों में की गयी है।[9] संपूर्ण भारत में व्यापारिक मार्गों का जाल बिछ चुका था।[10] विदेशों के साथ व्यापारिक संपर्क में वृद्धि हो चुकी थी और रोम के साथ दक्षिण भारत के व्यापारिक संबंधों में विशेष वृद्धि हुयी। प्रारंभ में यह व्यापार मुख्यतः स्थल-मार्गों द्वारा होता था। परंतु प्रथम शताब्दी ई. से मुख्यतः समुद्री मार्गों से होने लगा।[11] ई. 46-47 के लगभग हिप्पेलस द्वारा की गयी मानसून की खोज ने समुद्री व्यापार की प्रगति में सहयोग प्रदान किया।[12] रोम तथा भारत से होने वाला व्यापार मुख्यतः विकास की सामग्रियों से संबंधित था।[13] रोम के व्यापारी मसाले, मलमल तथा मोती, पन्ना आदि भारत से ले जाते थे। अरिकमेडु से रोम के वाइन-अम्फोरा तथा अन्य मृत्पात्र काफी मात्रा में मिले हैं जिससे ज्ञात होता है कि रोम से भारत में बर्तन आयात किए जाते थे। इनके अतिरिक्त सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण भारत में रोम के सिक्कों के कोषों की उपलब्धि है जो व्यापारिक संदर्भ में ही भारत लाए गए होंगे। प्रथम शताब्दी ई. के रोमन सिक्कों के 68 कोष प्रायद्वीप तथा 57 से कुछ अधिक कोष विंध्य के दक्षिण से प्राप्त हुए हैं।[14]

कुषाण राजाओं ने सोने के सिक्के चलाकर व्यापारिक विकास को एक नवीन आयाम

दिया। पर ये सोने के सिक्के संभवत: अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार में ही प्रयुक्त किए जाते होंगे क्योंकि कुषाण राजाओं द्वारा निर्मित तांबे के सिक्के भी प्राप्त होते हैं। कुषाण व्यापारियों ने सिंध, सौवीर, कपिशा, गंधार, पुष्कलावती, मथुरा तथा वाराणसी के अतिरिक्त चीन एवं रोम के साथ व्यापारिक संबंध स्थापित किए।

इस समय शिल्पकारों की संख्या में भी पर्याप्त वृद्धि हुयी थी। महावस्तु[15] में केवल राजगृह में निवास करने वाले 26 प्रकार के शिल्पकारों का उल्लेख किया है। मिलिंदपन्हों[16] में इससे भी बड़ी सूची प्राप्त होती है। इनमें से अधिकांश का संबंध शिल्पकारों से था। दीर्घनिकाय[17] में दो दर्जन व्यापारों का उल्लेख है, जबकि मिलिंदपन्हों में पांच दर्जन व्यवसायों का उल्लेख है। इन सूचियों से स्पष्ट होता है कि मालाकार (माला बनाने वाले) सुनारों, शीशे पर काम करने वालों (सीसकार) टिन पर काम करने वालों (तिपुकार), लोहारों (लौहकार), ताम्रकारों, नमक बनाने वालों, चर्मकारों, रस्सी बनाने वालों, सूत बनाने वालों, बाल तैयार करने वालों (उसुकार), चित्रकारों, रंगरेजों, धोबियों, जुलाहों, गंधिकों, रथकारों, हाथीदांत पर काम करने वालों (दंतकार), फल बेचने वालों, तेल बेचने वालों, गुड़, शकर और शराब बनाने वाले आदि समाज के निम्न वर्गों के लोगों की स्थिति काफी अच्छी हो गयी थी।

नगरीय जीवन समृद्ध और विकसित हो गया था जिसकी पृष्ठभूमि में उत्पादन को नियोजित करने के कारण शिल्पकारों एवं व्यापारियों की श्रेणियां पहले की अपेक्षा विशेष महत्वपूर्ण हो उठीं। ये श्रेणियां बैंकों का भी कार्य करती थीं। नासिक से प्राप्त एक अभिलेख में जुलाहों की दो श्रेणियों में रुपया जमा किए जाने का विवरण प्राप्त होता है।[18] श्रेणियों की सुदृढ़ स्थिति का आभास इसी से लगाया जा सकता है कि जनता धर्मदाय के रूप में अपना धन उन्हें पूर्ण विश्वास के साथ सौंप दिया करती थी। नासिक से ही प्राप्त एक दूसरे अभिलेख में गोवर्धन की श्रेणियों में जमा किए गए धर्मदाय का उल्लेख मिलता है। कुलरिक[19] (संभवत: कुम्हार), तैलिक, बांस का तथा पीतल का काम करने वाले, अनाज के व्यापारियों की श्रेणी में भी इस प्रकार के धर्मदाय जमा किए गए। इन औद्योगिक तथा व्यापारिक श्रेणियों में धर्मदाय विभिन्न प्रयोजनों से किए जाते थे। जैसे बीमार भिक्षुओं के लिए दवा का प्रबंध करना, वृक्ष लगाना आदि। याज्ञवल्क्य, नारद तथा बृहस्पति ने श्रेणी-संबंधी नियमों की तथा श्रेणी-संविधान की विस्तृत व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की है। इससे ज्ञात होता है कि प्रथम शताब्दी ई. के बाद की दो तीन शताब्दियों में श्रेणियां पूर्ण रूप से संगठित होकर जनजीवन का आवश्यक अंग मान ली गयीं। श्रेणी की सदस्यता प्राप्त करने के लिए भी कुछ नियम थे (कोष, लेखक्रिया तथा मध्यस्थ)।[20] जिस समिति द्वारा श्रेणियां अपने विभिन्न कार्य संपादित करती थीं उसमें दो, तीन या पांच सदस्य होते थे। एक प्रधान अधिकारी होता था। इन सदस्यों की सर्वतोमुखी योग्यता आवश्यक थी।[21] समय-समय पर सार्वजनिक कार्यों के लिए सदस्यों के एकत्र होने के लिए कार्यालय भी होता था।[22] इन कार्यालयों में सदस्यों की उपस्थिति के नियम भी निर्धारित थे।[23] जिस किसी के द्वारा जो कुछ भी प्राप्त किया जाता था वह सभी सदस्यों के मध्य विभाजित कर दिया जाता था।[24] उपर्युक्त उद्धरण श्रेणि-संविधान के गणतंत्रवादी होने का प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करते हैं।

बदली हुयी राजनीतिक, आर्थिक परिस्थितियों का प्रभाव सामाजिक व्यवस्था पर भी पड़ा। विदेशी शासकों के राज्यकाल में रुढ़िवादी वर्ण व्यवस्था को गहरा धक्का लगा और उसकी आधारशिला हिल गयी। राजनीतिक सत्ताधारी विदेशियों को वृषल अथवा म्लेच्छ कह कर उनके साथ हीन व्यवहार करना अब ब्राह्मण व्यवस्थाकारों के लिए संभव न था।

फलस्वरूप रुढ़िवादी ब्राह्मण व्यवस्था को भी इनके साथ सामंजस्य बिठाना पड़ा और वे क्षत्रियों के रूप में स्वीकृत हुए।[25] शूद्रों की स्थिति पहले से कुछ अच्छी हो गयी। वे अब वैश्यों के कार्य भी करने लगे थे।[26] शूद्र धीरे-धीरे दासता एवं दासप्राय स्थिति से भी मुक्त होने लगे थे जो उनके उत्कर्ष का एक महत्वपूर्ण चरण था। पारिवारिक भू-संपत्ति के विभाजन ने बड़े परिवार को छोटे परिवारों में विभाजित हो जाने की आधार शिला तैयार की। छोटे परिवारों के लिए दासों को अधिक संख्या में रख पाना अब संभव न था। परिणामस्वरूप दास-प्रथा दुर्बल होने लगी थी। छोटे परिवारों द्वारा मुक्त किए गए दासों में से अधिकांश आश्रित कृषकों के वर्ग में विलयित हो गए होंगे, इसकी संभावना व्यक्त की जा सकती है।[27] शूद्रों का आश्रित कृषकों के रूप में उत्कर्ष सामाजिक गतिशीलता की ऊर्ध्वगामी समष्टि विषयक गतिशीलता का द्योतक होने के साथ सामंतवाद[28] के उदय का भी एक महत्वपूर्ण तत्व था। कुषाणकाल के बाद व्यापार की अपेक्षाकृत अवनति ने इस स्थिति में वृद्धि की होगी।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से स्पष्ट है कि कुषाणकाल में समाज में पिछड़ी या दलित कही जाने वाली जातियों की स्थिति काफी अच्छी थी। इस समय की आर्थिक उन्नति ने उनकी स्थिति को सुदृढ़ बना दिया था। इस युग में जाति व्यवस्था में परिवर्तन दृष्टिगोचर होता है जो धर्म पर आधारित था। वस्तुत: शुंगकालीन ब्राह्मण धर्म में अनेक विकृतियां आ गयी थीं। ब्राह्मण धर्म में मान्य व्यवस्था का लाभ उठाकर ब्राह्मण वर्ग का शूद्र वर्ग के प्रति शोषण अनुचित था। कदाचित् इसी की प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप बौद्ध एवं जैन धर्मों का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। इन धर्मों में, विशेष रूप से बौद्ध धर्म में वर्ण व्यवस्था के अस्तित्व को नकारा गया था तथा मनुष्य मात्र का एक वर्ग - मनुष्यवर्ग प्रतिपादित हुआ।

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कन्याओं की विवाह योग्य आयु (प्रारंभ से लेकर गुप्तकाल तक)

ममता मिश्रा*

हड़प्पा संस्कृति के काल (लगभग 2400 ई.पू.-1700 ई.पू.) में लड़कियों की विवाह योग्य आयु के विषय में हमें कुछ भी ज्ञात नहीं है। वैदिक समाज में नि:संदेह स्त्रियों का पर्याप्त महत्त्व था। ऋग्वेद तथा उत्तरवैदिक ग्रंथों के निम्नलिखित संदर्भ इस बात का प्रमाण/संकेत देते हैं कि लड़कियों का विवाह अधिकांशत: युवावस्था प्राप्त करने पर ही किया जाता था और वे जीवनसाथी के चुनाव में पूर्णरूपेण माता-पिता अथवा अभिभावकों के अधीन नहीं थीं, अपितु अपनी इच्छा से पति का वरण कर सकती थीं तथा करती भी थीं।

ऋग्वेद तथा उत्तरवैदिक ग्रंथों में ***समन्*** शब्द अनेक बार आया है। यास्क तथा सायण ने समन् का अर्थ संग्राम लगाया है।[1] पिशेल (Pischel) के अनुसार यह एक सामाजिक उत्सव या मेला होता था जिसमें पुरुष, स्त्रियां, लड़कियां तथा अन्य लोग भाग लेते थे और कुछ युवतियां अपने पतियों का भी चुनाव कर लेती थीं।[2] शकुंतला राव शास्त्री पिशेल के इस मत से सहमत हैं। इस प्रकार के उत्सव या मेले प्राचीनकाल में यूनान में भी आयोजित किए जाते थे।[3] ऋग्वेद के दसवें मंडल के एक मंत्र के विवरणानुसार *समन्* एक प्राचीन मेला था।[4] अथर्ववेद में भी यह शब्द मेले के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ है और बताया गया है कि इसमें जाने की चाह कुमारी लड़की की योग्यताओं में से एक थी।[5] समन् में बड़ी संख्या में लड़कियां आकर्षक वस्त्राभूषणों से सुसज्जित होकर जाती थीं; अपने प्रेमियों के साथ घूमती फिरती थीं[6] और इनमें से कई वहां अपने जीवनसाथी का भी चुनाव कर लेती थीं।[7] विवाह तय करने के उद्देश्य से (कभी-कभी) माता-पिता भी *समन्* में अपनी कुमारी लड़कियों को जाने के लिए प्रेरित करते थे।[8]

लड़के-लड़कियों के पारस्परिक प्रणय संबंधों,[9] प्रेमियों द्वारा प्रेमिकाओं को भेंट दिए जाने[10] तथा प्रेमिकाओं से मिलने के लिए अनेक परिवारजनों को मंत्र के प्रभाव से सुला देने के भी उल्लेख प्राप्य हैं।[11] ऋग्वेद में उषा को विकासोन्मुख शरीर वाली लड़की के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया और सूर्य को उसका प्रेमी बताया गया है।[12] सूर्या के विवाह का वर्णन करने वाले मंत्र में ऐसे कई संकेत हैं जो विवाह के तुरंत बाद वधू को संभोग एवं संतानोत्पत्ति के योग्य दर्शाते हैं।[13] कतिपय वैवाहिक अनुष्ठान भी वधू के युवती होने का संकेत देते हैं।[14] ऋग्वेद तथा अथर्ववेद में ***योषा, योषणा*** तथा ***योषित*** (अविवाहिता) विशेषण युवती के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।[15] बिना माता-पिता वाली लड़कियों को उपयुक्त पति की तलाश करते हुए भी दर्शाया गया है।[16] कक्षीवान् ऋषि द्वारा वृद्धावस्था में घोषा नाम की एक उमरदार महिला से विवाह करना[17] ऋग्वैदिक काल में विवाह के लिए कन्या की उपयुक्त आयु का सही उदाहरण नहीं है क्योंकि इन दोनों ने असामान्य परिस्थिति में विवाह किया था।

ऋग्वैदिक काल में नवविवाहिता वधू का उसके पति के घर में पर्याप्त सम्मान होता था और उसे तुरंत घर की जिम्मेदारी सौंप दी जाती थी। इसी आशय का संकेत विवाह

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मंत्र के उस कथन में मिलता है जिसमें वधू को संबोधित कर कहा गया है 'तुम (वधू) अपने सास, श्वसुर, पति की बहिनों तथा भाइयों की रानी बनो'।[18] अथर्ववेद[19] में भी यह मंत्र मिलता है जिससे ऋग्वेदोत्तर काल में भी इस परंपरा के प्रचलन की पुष्टि होती है।

ऋग्वेद के उपर्युक्त सभी संदर्भ कन्याओं के युवती होने पर ही उनके विवाह किए जाने का प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करते हैं। इसकी अप्रत्यक्षत: पुष्टि इस बात से भी होती है कि न केवल ऋग्वेद में, अपितु संपूर्ण वैदिक साहित्य में विवाह के समय किसी लड़की को अल्पायु का नहीं बताया गया है। उत्तर वैदिककाल के अंत तक भी यही स्थिति रही। कुछ लोगों ने छांदोग्य उपनिषद (1.10.1) के उस संदर्भ को उद्धत किया है जिसमें उशष्टि चाक्रायण की पत्नी के लिए ***आटिकी*** विशेषण प्रयुक्त हुआ है। शंकराचार्य ने इसका अर्थ अविकसित कन्या लगाया है[20] जो उचित नहीं है।

वैदिककाल में अधिकांशत: लड़कियों का रजस्वला होने के काफी बाद में विवाह किया जाता था और विवाह तय करने के लिए सदैव यह आवश्यक नहीं था कि माता-पिता अथवा अभिभावक की सहमति तथा अनुमति ली जाय।[21] लड़कियों को लड़कों की भांति तथा उनके साथ विभिन्न विषयों की शिक्षा दी जाती थी।[21A] अथर्ववेद[22] में ऐसी लड़की का उल्लेख है जो ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम समाप्त करने के उपरांत किसी उपयुक्त युवक से विवाह करने की इच्छुक थी - ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्द्यते पतिं। उत्तरवैदिककाल में महिलाओं की स्थिति में पतन प्रारंभ हो जाने के बावजूद लड़कियों का विवाह अल्पायु में नहीं किया जाता था और न ही उनकी शैक्षिक सुविधाओं में विशेष कटौती किए जाने के प्रमाण प्राप्य हैं।

वेदोत्तरकाल में स्त्रियों की स्थिति में गिरावट आई थी। इस काल के लेखकों ने जिनमें सूत्र ग्रंथों के लेखक प्रमुख हैं, पहली बार इस बात पर बल दिया कि कन्या का विवाह उसके ऋतुमती होने के पहले अथवा अधिक से अधिक रजस्वला होने के बाद तीन महीने से लेकर तीन वर्ष की अवधि के भीतर अवश्य कर दिया जाना चाहिए। कतिपय धर्म एवं गृह्यसूत्रों के लेखकों ने विवाह योग्य कन्या के लिए ***नग्निका*** शब्द का प्रयोग किया है जिसकी विभिन्न लेखकों ने भिन्न-भिन्न व्याख्याएं प्रस्तुत की हैं। गौतम ने इसका अर्थ अल्पायु की कन्या लगाया है जो बिना वस्त्र पहने घूमती हो[23] और ऋतुमती[24] न हुई हो। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि जिस कन्या का पिता उसके रजस्वला होने के बाद विवाह न करे, वह तीन महीने तक प्रतीक्षा करने के उपरांत स्वयं किसी योग्य वर से विवाह कर ले।[25] बौधायन ने प्रतीक्षा की यह अवधि बढ़ाकर तीन वर्ष तक कर दी और कहा कि यदि इस अवधि के बीत जाने पर भी पिता/अभिभावक उसका विवाह नहीं करते, तो वे भ्रूण हत्या के दोषी होते हैं।[26] साथ ही यह भी प्रावधान किया गया कि उपर्युक्त कालावधि में यदि उपयुक्त जीवनसाथी न मिल सके तो कन्या को अनुपयुक्त व्यक्ति से भी स्वयं विवाह कर लेना चाहिए।[27] इस नियम पर इतना अधिक बल दिए जाने के बावजूद वेदोत्तरकाल में इसका अनुपालन करने वालों का प्रतिशत शायद नगण्य ही रहा होगा।

महाभारत में ***नग्निका*** को 16 वर्ष की कन्या बताया गया है जिसका विवाह 30 वर्ष के युवक से किया जाना चाहिए।[28] अमरकोष में ऐसी कन्या के लिए, जो रजस्वला नहीं हुई है, चार विशेषणों का प्रयोग किया गया है - *कोटवी, गौरी, नग्निका* और *अनागर्तातवा*।[29] मध्यकालीन टीकाकार भी *नग्निका* की व्याख्या के विषय में एकमत नहीं हैं। देवणणभट्ट (13वीं शताब्दी का प्रारंभिक भाग) ने उसे 5-6 वर्ष की कन्या माना है जो बिना वस्त्र पहने नग्न घूमती हो और जिसमें नारी सुलभ लज्जाभाव उत्पन्न न हुआ हो।[30] अष्टावक्र का भी लगभग यही मत है।[31] इसके विपरीत मित्रमिश्र (17वीं शताब्दी का पूर्वार्द्ध) ने *नग्निका* को 16 वर्षीया

कन्या माना है।[32] मातृदत्त ने *नग्निका* की आयु तो नहीं बताई, किंतु उनका अभिप्राय युवती से ही था जो विवाह के तुरंत बाद संभोग्या हो।[33]

उपर्युक्त लेखकों में कुछ ने तो अपने समय की परंपरा का उल्लेख किया है, जबकि कुछ ने पूर्ववर्तीकाल की परंपरा को ही प्रस्तुत कर दिया। इस संबंध में यह बात ध्यातव्य है कि सभी समकालीन लेखक भी कन्या की विवाह योग्य अवस्था के संबंध में एकमत नहीं थे। उदाहरण के लिए पाणिनि[34] (ई. पू. पांचवीं सदी) ने विवाह योग्य कन्या के लिए *वर्या* (जो विवाह योग्य हो) एवं *पतिंवरा* (जो स्वयं अपने पति का चुनाव करती है) विशेषणों का प्रयोग किया है जो उसके प्रौढ़ावस्था में विवाह किए जाने का संकेत देते हैं। इसकी पुष्टि कतिपय जातक कथाओं से भी होती है जिनमें बताया गया है कि लड़कियों का विवाह 16 वर्ष की आयु में किया जाना चाहिए।[35] परंतु गृह्यसूत्रों में इस संबंध में कुछ परस्पर विरोधी कथन मिलते हैं। कुछ सूत्रकारों के अनुसार कन्या के ऋतुमती होने के पहले ही उसका विवाह कर दिया जाना चाहिए; कुछ के अनुसार अधिक से अधिक उसके ऋतुमती होने के बाद तीन महीने के भीतर[36] और कुछ ने अधिकतम सीमा रजस्वला हो जाने के बाद तीन वर्ष मानी। कतिपय गृह्यसूत्रकारों ने विवाह के दौरान ही कन्या के मासिक धर्म होने का भी उल्लेख किया है[37] तथा विवाह के चौथे दिन ***चतुर्थीकर्म*** नामक अनुष्ठान संपन्न करने का प्रावधान किया जिसमें प्रथम संभोग किया जाता था।[38] कौटिल्य का मत सूत्रकारों से अधिक भिन्न नहीं था। उनके अनुसार लड़की का विवाह 12 वर्ष की आयु में अथवा इसके आस-पास कर दिया जाना चाहिए।[39] पतंजलि के महाभाष्य से हमें ज्ञात होता है कि कम से कम कुछ उदाहरणों में वैवाहिक संबंध तय करने में लड़की की राय को भी महत्व दिया जाता था।[40] इससे भी उसके युवती होने का संकेत मिलता है। मेगस्थनीज के विवरण के आधार पर एरियन (Arrian) का यह कथन कि पांड्य राज्य में कन्याओं का विवाह 7 वर्ष की आयु में ही कर दिया जाता था, इस काल में प्रचलित सामान्य परंपरा का द्योतक नहीं है।

महाकाव्यों के विवरणों से प्रमाणित होता है कि कम से कम शासक वर्ग के क्षत्रिय परिवारों में लड़कियों का विवाह प्रायः उनके युवती होने पर ही किया जाता था। रामायण से हमें ज्ञात होता है कि सीता के युवती एवं संभोग्या हो जाने पर ही उसके पिता जनक का ध्यान उसके विवाह की ओर गया।[41] राम के तीनों भाइयों के विवाह भी युवतियों से ही किए गए थे क्योंकि उन सबने अपनी पत्नियों के साथ विवाह के तुरंत बाद रमण किया था।[42] महाभारत की प्रमुख नारी पात्रों कुंती, सत्यवती, दमयंती तथा गंधारी सभी के विवाह प्रौढ़ावस्था में हुए थे।[43]

मौर्येत्तरकाल के लेखक इस संबंध में एकमत नहीं थे। गाथासप्तशती के लेखक हाल (प्रथम सदी ई.) ने विवाह के चौथे दिन ***चतुर्थीमंगल*** कृत्य संपन्न किए जाने का उल्लेख किया है।[44] मनु (ई. पू. द्वितीय-प्रथम सदी-प्रथम-द्वितीय सदी ई.) ने 8 से 12 वर्ष तक की आयु की कन्या को विवाह योग्य माना।[45]

गुप्तकाल के स्मृतिकारों याज्ञवल्क्य,[46] बृहस्पति[47] तथा नारद[48] ने भी रजस्वला होने के पूर्व ही कन्या का विवाह कर दिए जाने पर बल दिया जिसकी पुष्टि पंचतंत्र के लेखक विष्णुशर्मा ने भी की।[49] इसके विपरीत कालिदासकृत कुमारसंभव में पार्वती को, और अभिज्ञान-शाकुंतल में शकुंतला तथा उसकी सखियों प्रियवंदा एवं अनुसूया जो कि ब्राह्मण जाति की थीं, के युवती हो जाने पर ही उन्हें विवाह योग्य बताया गया है।[50] इस संबंध

में वराहमिहिर का मत विशेष महत्व का है। उन्होंने विवाह योग्य कन्याओं की योग्यताओं में उसके युवती होने को भी शामिल किया है।[51]

उपर्युक्त साक्ष्यों के अनुशीलन से यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि रजस्वला होने के पूर्व अथवा रजस्वला होने के कुछ ही समय के बाद कन्या का विवाह कर दिए जाने पर बल तो वेदोत्तरकाल से ही दिया जाने लगा था। परंतु सूत्रकाल से लेकर गुप्तकाल तक के धर्मशास्त्रकारों ने रजस्वला होने के तीन वर्ष बाद तक भी विवाह कर देने को अनुचित नहीं ठहराया। लड़कियां आमतौर पर 13–14 वर्ष की आयु से पहले ऋतुमती नहीं होतीं और इस उम्र में तीन वर्ष जोड़ने पर वे लगभग युवती हो जाती हैं। इस प्रकार गुप्तकाल तक बाल विवाह की प्रथा का सामान्य प्रचलन बिल्कुल नहीं था और इनके उदाहरणों की संख्या काफी कम रही होगी। कन्याओं का बाल्यावस्था में विवाह कर देने की प्रथा का प्रचलन वस्तुतः पूर्वमध्य एवं मध्यकालों में हुआ था।

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गुप्त संवत् का प्रवर्तन : एक पुनर्विचार

राजवन्त राव*

यह तथ्य अब प्राय: निर्विवाद रूप से स्वीकृत हो चुका है कि गुप्त संवत का काल गणना 319 ईसवी से प्रारंभ हुई। किंतु यह विषय अब भी विवादास्पद बना हुआ है कि इस संवत का प्रयोग किस गुप्त शासक के काल में प्रारंभ हुआ तथा वह कौन सी महत्वपूर्ण घटना थी जिसकी स्मृति में यह संवत प्रवर्तित हुआ। इन दोनों समस्याओं का विवेचन ही प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र का विषय है। निश्चित प्रमाणों का अभाव होने के कारण इतिहासकारों ने इस संबंध में अनेक विकल्प प्रस्तुत किए हैं। ज्ञात तथ्यों की पृष्ठभूमि में हमने भी एक नया विकल्प प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है।

इतिहासकारों ने गुप्त संवत के प्रवर्तक के संबंध में अनेक संभावनाएं व्यक्त की हैं। इस विषय में बहुप्रचलित मान्यता यह है कि गुप्त वंश के प्रथम शक्तिशाली शासक चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम ने 319 ईसवी में संपन्न होने वाले अपने राज्यारोहण के उपलक्ष्य में, अथवा महाराजाधिराज उपाधि धारण करने के उपलक्ष्य में इस संवत को प्रवर्तित किया था।[1] रमेश चंद्र मजुमदार ने नालंदा तथा गया ताम्रपत्रों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए यह संभावना व्यक्त की कि गुप्त संवत का प्रवर्तन स्वयं समुद्रगुप्त द्वारा अपने अभिषेक की स्मृति में किया गया होगा।[2] उनका कथन है कि यदि पांचवें वर्ष के नालंदा दानपत्र को उसका असली दानपत्र अथवा असली दानपत्र की परवर्ती युग में तैयार की गई प्रतिलिपि मान ली जाय, तब यह स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि समुद्रगुप्त 324 ई. में शासन कर रहा था। इस आधार पर मजुमदार यह निष्कर्ष निकालते हैं कि 319 ई. में समुद्रगुप्त का राज्याभिषेक हुआ होगा तथा उसने स्वयं अपने राज्याभिषेक की स्मृति में गुप्त संवत का प्रवर्तन किया होगा। किंतु उपलब्ध साक्ष्यों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम अथवा समुद्रगुप्त के शासनकाल में गुप्त संवत का प्रचलन प्रमाणित नहीं होता। नालंदा एवं गया ताम्रपत्रों की प्रामाणिकता असंदिग्ध नहीं है। साथ ही यह उल्लेखनीय है कि यदि चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के शासन काल में अथवा समुद्रगुप्त के शासनकाल के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में गुप्त संवत प्रचलित होता तो समुद्रगुप्त की मूलरूप में प्राप्त प्रयाग प्रशस्ति तथा एरण अभिलेख में गुप्त संवत की तिथि अवश्य अंकित होती। अत: कतिपय विद्वानों की यह मान्यता तर्कसंगत है कि समुद्रगुप्त के शासन के अंतिम वर्षों तक गुप्त संवत अस्तित्व में नहीं आया था।[3]

पी.एल.गुप्त,[4] सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय[5] तथा श्रीराम गोयल[6] ने यह मत व्यक्त किया है कि गुप्त संवत का प्रवर्तन चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय ने किया था। इन विद्वानों का मत मुख्यत: चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासन के पांचवें वर्ष तथा गुप्त संवत के 61 वें वर्ष में प्रकाशित मथुरा अभिलेख पर आधारित है। इस अभिलेख में तिथि क्रमिक दृष्टि से गुप्त संवत के प्रयोग का प्रथम प्रामाणिक उल्लेख मिलता है। किंतु उक्त अभिलेख में ऐसा कोई संकेत नहीं मिलता है जिसके आधार पर यह कहा जा सके कि यह संवत चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय द्वारा प्रवर्तित हुआ था। सर्वविदित है कि उक्त अभिलेख चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय की आज्ञा से प्रकाशित राजकीय अभिलेख न होकर

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माहेश्वरों की विज्ञप्ति है। ऐसी स्थिति में चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय को गुप्त संवत के प्रवर्तन का श्रेय देना युक्तिसंगत नहीं लगता।

इस विषय में मेरा यह विनम्र सुझाव है कि गुप्त संवत का प्रचलन चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासनकाल में लोक परंपरा से हुआ। इस दृष्टि से मथुरा अभिलेख में उपलब्ध तथ्यों का विवेचन आवश्यक है। गुप्त संवत 61 अर्थात 380 ई. का मथुरा अभिलेख चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के विजयराज संवत्सर 5 तथा कालानुवर्तमान संवत्सर 61 दोनों का उल्लेख करता है जो अकारण नहीं है। इससे यह संकेत मिलता है कि इसके पूर्व "राज्यसंवत्सर" में गणना की परंपरा प्रचलित थी तथा इस अभिलेख में पहली बार कालानुवर्तमान संवत्सर में तिथि अंकित करने की प्रक्रिया प्रारंभ की गयी जो इसके बाद क्रमशः लोकप्रिय होती गयी। यहां यह उल्लेखनीय है कि मथुरा अभिलेख के पश्चात जारी होने वाले चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासनकाल के उदयगिरि अभिलेख में संवत 82 तथा सांची अभिलेख में संवत 93 का उल्लेख तो है, किंतु इनके लिए "कालानुवर्तमान" विशेषण का प्रयोग नहीं मिलता। इन अभिलेखों में चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के "राज्यसंवत्सर" की चर्चा भी नहीं है। अतः यह निष्कर्ष निकालना अनुचित नहीं होगा कि चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासन के 5वें वर्ष का मथुरा अभिलेख उस संक्रांति काल का है जब "विजयराज्यसंवत्सर" के स्थान पर "कालानुवर्तमान संवत्सर" को प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयत्न पहली बार किया गया। सुविदित है कि मथुरा अभिलेख उदिताचार्य द्वारा अपने पुण्य की वृद्धि के निमित्त तथा गुरुओं की कीर्ति हेतु गुर्वायतन में उपमितेश्वर तथा कपिलेश्वर की प्रतिमा-संयुक्त शिवलिंग की स्थापना का वर्णन करता है। अभिलेख में स्पष्टतः कहा गया है कि यह माहेश्वरों की विज्ञप्ति है। अतः हमारा यह निष्कर्ष है कि गुप्त संवत चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासनकाल में प्रवर्तित होते हुए भी राजप्रवर्तित न होकर लोक द्वारा प्रचलित हुआ। यहां विद्वानों का ध्यान इस तथ्य की ओर आकृष्ट करना भी अप्रासंगिक न होगा कि मथुरा क्षेत्र पर गुप्त सत्ता को प्रतिष्ठापित करने वाला तथा इस क्षेत्र पर शासन करने वाला प्रथम गुप्त वंशी शासक समुद्रगुप्त था। अतः मथुरावासियों ने कालानुवर्तमान संवत्सर का प्रारंभ समुद्रगुप्त के राज्याभिषेक से ही माना होगा। यहां यह भी ध्यातव्य है कि राज्यसंवत्सर को संवत में परिवर्तित करने की प्रक्रिया से मथुरा क्षेत्र के निवासी अपरिचित नहीं थे। गुप्तों के आधिपत्य के पूर्व मथुरा कुषाणों के राजनैतिक प्रभाव में रह चुका था। मथुरा कुषाणों की सत्ता का एक प्रमुख केंद्र भी था। मथुरावासियों को यह ज्ञात था कि कनिष्क के राज्यारोहण से प्रारंभ होने वाला उसका राज्यसंवत्सर ही कालांतर में उसके उत्तराधिकारियों द्वारा एक संवत के रूप में स्वीकृत हुआ जो बाद में शक संवत के नाम से विख्यात हुआ। संभवतः इसी प्रक्रिया का अनुसरण करते हुए मथुरा में चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के 5वें वर्ष में अंकित होने वाली माहेश्वरों की विज्ञप्ति में मथुरा पर शासन करने वाले प्रथम गुप्तवंशी शासक समुद्रगुप्त के राज्यारोहण की तिथि को प्रारंभिक बिंदु मानते हुए कालानुवर्तमान संवत्सर की परिकल्पना की गई।

जैसा कि ऊपर संकेत किया गया है, हमारा यह मानना है कि गुप्त संवत की कालगणना समुद्रगुप्त के राज्याभिषेक के समय से मथुरा में प्रारंभ की गई। मथुरा का क्षेत्र चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के शासनांतर्गत नहीं था। ऐसी स्थिति में मथुरा से प्रारंभ होने वाले इस संवत की कालगणना चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के राज्यारोहण की तिथि से मानने का कोई औचित्य नहीं प्रतीत होता। यह भी अस्वाभाविक लगता है कि मथुरा के माहेश्वरों ने समकालीन शासक चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के **समरशतावतरणदक्ष** तथा एक विस्तृत क्षेत्र में गुप्त सत्ता के प्रतिष्ठापक समुद्रगुप्त

के राज्यारोहण की तिथि को महत्व न देकर चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के राज्यारोहण की तिथि को महत्व दिया हो जिससे उनका कोई भी प्रत्यक्ष अथवा परोक्ष संबंध नहीं था।

इस संदर्भ में नालंदा एवं गया ताम्रपत्रों में उपलब्ध तिथियां भी सर्वथा उपेक्षणीय नहीं हैं। ये दानपत्र या तो बाद में लिखे गए कूट लेख हैं अथवा मूलदानपत्रों की पश्चातकालीन अशुद्ध एवं विकृत प्रतिलिपियां। इनमें से नालंदा दानपत्र संवत 5 तथा गया दानपत्र संवत 9 का उल्लेख करता है। हमारा यह सुझाव है कि नालंदा एवं गया ताम्रपत्रों के लेखक जो समुद्रगुप्त के पश्चातवर्ती शताब्दियों में कभी उत्पन्न हुए थे, न केवल गुप्त संवत से सुपरिचित थे, वरन् उन्हें परम्परागत रूप से यह भी ज्ञात था कि गुप्त संवत का प्रारंभ समुद्रगुप्त के राज्यारोहण से हुआ था। अत: उन्होंने अपने लेख को प्रामाणिक सिद्ध करने के लिए नालंदा एवं गया के दानपत्रों में क्रमश: गुप्त संवत 5 एवं गुप्त संवत 9 का उल्लेख किया। एस. आर. गोयल नालंदा एवं गया ताम्रपत्रों की तिथियों को समुद्रगुप्त के शासन वर्ष की तिथियां मानते हैं।[7] किंतु मेरा यह मानना है कि समुद्रगुप्त के राज्यसंवत्सर तथा गुप्तसंवत्सर, दोनों की तिथियां अभिन्न हैं क्योंकि समुद्रगुप्त के राज्यारोहण से ही गुप्त संवत का प्रारंभ हुआ। गोयल ने नालंदा अभिलेख की अंतिम पंक्ति में उल्लिखित श्रीचंद्रगुप्त को चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय से अभिन्न मानते हुए यह मत व्यक्त किया है कि 319 ई. में समुद्रगुप्त का राज्यारोहरण मानने पर चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय 324 ई. में वयस्क नहीं हो सकता था जबकि नालंदा अभिलेख के अनुसार वह इस दानपत्र में दूतक के रूप में उल्लिखित हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में गोयल के अनुसार नालंदा ताम्रपत्र की तिथि गुप्त संवत की तिथि नहीं हो सकती। निष्कर्षत: वे समुद्रगुप्त के शासन का प्रारंभ 319 ई. में नहीं मानते। किंतु नालंदा ताम्रपत्र में "श्रीचंद्रगुप्त" का जो उल्लेख मिलता है उसे बहुत महत्व देना उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता। उल्लेखनीय है कि गया से प्राप्त दानपत्र में चंद्रगुप्त का नामोल्लेख नहीं मिलता। बहुत संभव है कि नालंदा दानपत्र में जिस प्रकार समुद्रगुप्त के लिए "चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्ता" तथा "परमभागवत" जैसी उपाधियों का प्रयोग लेखक ने अपने समसामयिक ज्ञान के आधार पर किया, उसी प्रकार अतिशय चातुर्य का परिचय देते हुए उसने दूतक के रूप में चंद्रगुप्त का नाम भी अंकित कर एक ऐतिहासिक भूल की हो।

संवत का प्रवर्तन प्राय: किसी अतिविशिष्ट घटना के उपलक्ष्य या स्मृति में होता है। यहां यह विचारणीय हो जाता है कि गुप्त वंश के प्रारंभिक इतिहास में कौन सी घटना युगांतकारी रही होगी। चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के राज्यारोहण को युगांतकारी घटना नहीं माना जा सकता। उसकी महाराजाधिराज उपाधि का उसके पुत्र समुद्रगुप्त की प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में मिलता है। बहुत संभव है कि प्रयाग प्रशस्ति के लेखक हरिषेण ने औपचारिक रूप से पराक्रमांक समुद्रगुप्त के पिता चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम को सम्मान प्रदान करने के लिए महाराजाधिराज उपाधि का प्रयोग किया हो। इतना तो स्पष्ट है कि चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के शासनकाल में गुप्त राजवंश उत्तर भारत की एक सार्वभौम शक्ति के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित नहीं हो सका था। गुप्तों का राज्य क्षेत्र चंद्रगुप्त प्रथम के काल में पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार तक ही सीमित था। इसके विपरीत समुद्रगुप्त का राज्यारोहण निश्चय ही गुप्त इतिहास की एक युगांतकारी घटना थी। इसके उत्तराधिकारियों के अभिलेख उसे सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता कहकर संबोधित करते हैं। प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में उल्लिखित उसकी विजयें गुप्त सत्ता के आकस्मिक उत्कर्ष को प्रमाणित करती हैं। उक्त अभिलेख से यह भी ध्वनित होता है कि उसके राजनैतिक प्रभाव से पश्चिमोत्तर सीमा पर शासन करने वाले कुषाण तथा दक्षिण में सिंहल एवं अन्य द्वीपों के शासक भी सर्वथा मुक्त

नहीं थे। ऐसे महान सम्राट के राज्यारोहण को निश्चय ही उसके वंशजों तथा उसकी प्रजा ने एक युगांतकारी घटना माना होगा। इसका संकेत स्वयं प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में मिलता है, जिसके चौथे श्लोक में समुद्रगुप्त के उत्तराधिकारी मनोनीत होते समय पिता की भाव-विह्वलता तथा सभासदों के उच्छसित होने का मार्मिक वर्णन है। यहां यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय और उसके बाद शासन करने वाले गुप्त नृपतियों के अभिलेखों में वंश-परिचय समुद्रगुप्त से ही प्रारंभ होता है तथा समुद्रगुप्त के पूर्वजों का उल्लेख केवल समुद्रगुप्त का परिचय देने के लिए किया जाता है। इस दृष्टि से चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय का तिथि विहीन मथुरा पाषाण-लेख उद्धरणीय है जो समुद्रगुप्त के अभिलेखों के बाद वंशावली प्रस्तुत करने वाला पहला अभिलेख है। कुमारगुप्त के शासनकाल के संवत 96 का बिलसड़ पाषाण-लेख में भी वंशावली सर्वराजोच्छेतुः ..... महाराजाधिराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तः से प्रारंभ होती है। विश्वम्भर शरण पाठक ने हमारा ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट किया है कि वस्तुतः समुद्रगुप्त के वंशजों के अभिलेखों में समुद्रगुप्त को ही वह केंद्रस्थ व्यक्ति माना गया है जिसके माध्यम से उसके पूर्ववर्ती एवं परवर्ती शासकों का परिचय दिया गया है। इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि समुद्रगुप्त ही अपने वंश सर्वाधिक यशस्वी सम्राट था। उसके राज्यारोहण के उपरांत ही गुप्तों की शक्ति का सहसा उत्कर्ष हुआ। अतः यह अधिक तर्कसंगत लगता है कि उसके राज्यारोहण को गुप्त इतिहास की युगांतकारी घटना मानते हुए उसकी स्मृति में गुप्त संवत का प्रवर्तन हुआ हो।

इस संभावना के विरुद्ध प्रायः यह तर्क दिया जाता है कि 319 ई. में समुद्रगुप्त का राज्यारोहण मानने पर यह स्वीकार करना होगा कि उसने 56 वर्षों तक शासन किया जो सामान्यतः संभव नहीं प्रतीत होता। यह भी ध्यान दिलाया गया है कि समुद्रगुप्त के पौत्र कुमारगुप्त ने गुप्त संवत 136 तक शासन किया। तीन पीढ़ियों का शासनकाल 136 वर्ष होना असंभव न होते हुए भी सामान्यतः असंभाव्य लगता है। किंतु इतिहास में इस प्रकार का दीर्घकालिक शासन अज्ञात नहीं है।[8] मजुमदार ने हमारा ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकृष्ट किया है कि पश्चिमी चालुक्य शासकों में विक्रमादित्य पंचम से लेकर सोमेश्वर तृतीय तक तीन पीढ़ियों ने 116 वर्षों तक शासन किया था।[9] इस संदर्भ में हमारा यह कहना है कि विशेष परिस्थितियों में तीन पीढ़ियों का दीर्घकालिक शासन सर्वथा सम्भव है। यदि उत्तराधिकारी पुत्र का जन्म पिता की युवावस्था में न होकर उसकी प्रौढ़ावस्था में हुआ हो, तो पीढ़ियों का शासनकाल स्वाभाविक रूप में बढ़ जाता है। यहां ध्यातव्य है कि चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय समुद्रगुप्त का ज्येष्ठ पुत्र न होकर कनिष्ठ पुत्र था। देवीचंद्रगुप्त नाटक में रामगुप्त के लिए क्लीव विशेषण का प्रयोग तथा चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के प्रति ध्रुवदेवी का आकर्षण परोक्षतः इस बात का संकेत है कि रामगुप्त और चंद्रगुप्त की आयु में पर्याप्त अंतर था। कुमारगुप्त भी चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय की दूसरी भार्या महादेवी ध्रुवदेवी से उत्पन्न हुआ था। अतः उसका जन्म भी चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय की प्रौढ़ावस्था में ही हुआ होगा। ऐसी स्थिति में चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय तथा कुमारगुप्त प्रथम का दीर्घकालिक शासन अस्वाभाविक नहीं माना जा सकता। समुद्रगुप्त का 56 वर्षीय शासन भी विस्मयजनक नहीं है। गुर्जर-प्रतीहारों में मिहिरभोज ने लगभग 50 वर्षों तक और पालवंशी नारायणपाल ने लगभग 60 वर्षों तक शासन किया था। पल्लव नंदिवर्मन द्वितीय ने एवं राष्ट्रकूट अमोघवर्ष प्रथम ने क्रमशः 68 तथा 64 वर्षों तक।

उपर्युक्त तथ्यों तथा तर्कों के आलोक में यह संभावना अन्य ज्ञात विकल्पों की तुलना में अधिक तर्कसंगत प्रतीत होती है कि गुप्त संवत का प्रारंभ समुद्रगुप्त के राज्यारोहण के काल से हुआ तथा उसका प्रचलन चंद्रगुप्त द्वितीय के शासनकाल में लोक परंपरा द्वारा हुआ।

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पाल काल में स्थापत्य संबंधी गतिविधियां

पियूष भार्गव*

लगभग आठवीं शताब्दी ईसवी के मध्य भाग में बंगाल में अ-शासन की स्थिति को समाप्त कर सु-शासन स्थापित करने वाले पाल राजाओं का शासन काल न केवल राजनैतिक दृष्टि से बल्कि धर्म और कला की दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण था। राजनैतिक अस्थिरताओं के होते हुए भी उनके द्वारा निर्मित करवाए गए मंदिर, भवन एवं अन्य स्मारक इस बात के साक्षी हैं कि उनके समय में बिहार एवं बंगाल में स्थापत्य कला को पुनर्जीवन प्राप्त हुआ। पाल शासकों के समय में उस बौद्ध धर्म को प्रश्रय मिला जो प्राय: समस्त भारत से सिमटता हुआ देश के केवल पूर्वी अंचल में नवस्फूर्ति प्राप्त करता रहा। पाल शासक बौद्ध धर्म के प्रबल समर्थक थे, किंतु उन्होंने ब्राह्मण धर्म का विरोध नहीं किया। ब्राह्मण धर्म से संबंधित देवी-देवताओं की मूर्तियों एवं मंदिरों का निर्माण उनके काल में होता रहा। साहित्यिक एवं पुरातात्विक, दोनों ही स्रोत इन शासकों के काल की स्थापत्य संबंधी गतिविधियों की चर्चा करते हैं।

पाल वंश का संस्थापक गोपाल धार्मिक एवं कला अभिरुचि संपन्न शासक था। आर्यमंजुश्रीमूलकल्प में उसे विहारों, चैत्यों, उद्यानों तथा जलाशयों को बनवाने का श्रेय दिया गया है।[1] तारनाथ यह बताता है कि उसने ओदंतपुर (ओदंतपुरी)[2] के निकट नलेन्द्र विहार (मंदिर) का निर्माण करवाया।[3] ओदंतपुर नगर का निर्माणकर्ता भी स्वयं गोपाल था और उसने यहां एक विहार की स्थापना की। तिब्बती परंपराओं के अनुसार यह विहार चमत्कारिक ढंग से सुखायी गयी झील के ऊपर निर्मित था।[4] इसका निर्माण आठवीं शताब्दी ईसवी के मध्य के आस-पास हुआ होगा, क्योंकि इसी की अनुकृति पर तिब्बत में सम्-ये विहार का निर्माण 749 ईसवी में हुआ था।[5] इस विहार को मुसलमानों ने पूर्णत: नष्ट कर दिया, अत: इसकी स्थापत्य योजना के विषय में कोई जानकारी नहीं मिलती है। सम्-ये विहार के अवशेषों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है[6] कि इस विहार में एक विशाल मंदिर, चार विशाल महाविद्यालय एवं अन्य अनेक भवन थे। इन भवनों को एक वृहत् वृत्ताकार दीवार द्वारा घेरा गया था, जिसकी परिधि लगभग ढाई किलोमीटर थी। चार मुख्य दिशाओं में एक-एक प्रवेश द्वार भी था। चहारदीवारी के ऊपर ईंटों से निर्मित संकल्पित चैत्य प्रतिष्ठित थे।

वस्तुत: पाल स्थापत्य कला का चरमोत्कर्ष धर्मपाल (लगभग 770-810 ईसवी) और उसके उत्तराधिकारी देवपाल (810-850 ईसवी) के काल में देखा जा सकता है। ये शासक कला के महान संरक्षक थे और उन्होंने कला के अनेक आदर्श स्थापित किए। धर्मपाल के शासनकाल के 26वें वर्ष का एक प्रस्तर लेख बिहार में बोधगया से मिला है।[7] इस लेख के अनुसार रमणीय 'चम्पशायतन' अथवा 'चम्पेशायतन' नामक स्थान में शिलाभिद (Architect or Sculptor) उज्जल (उज्ज्वल?) के पुत्र केशव ने चतुर्मुख शिव का मंदिर निर्मित करवाया। उसने तीन हजार द्रम्म (त्रितयेन सहस्रेण द्रम्माणां) व्यय करके गंगा (विष्णुपदी) के समान पवित्र सरोवर भी उत्खनित कराया। एक साधारण शिलाभिद के पुत्र

* अंशकालिक प्रवक्ता, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास एवं पुरातत्व विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय

ने ये निर्माण कार्य अपनी बचत में से व्यय करके पूर्ण करवाए। इस अभिलेख से दो तथ्य स्पष्ट होते हैं : एक तो यह कि पुण्यार्जन के लिए साधारण व्यक्ति भी धर्म संबंधी स्थापत्य कार्यों में रुचि रखते थे और दूसरे यह पाल शासक की धार्मिक सहिष्णुता का परिचायक है।

धर्मपाल ने स्वयं अनेक निर्माण-कार्य संपन्न करवाए। तारनाथ[8] के अनुसार उसने धर्म के (उत्थान के) लिए 35 केंद्रों की स्थापना की। इसी ने विक्रमशील महाविहार की भी स्थापना की। तिब्बती इतिहासकार के अनुसार[9] यह विहार मगध के उत्तर में गंगा के तट पर एक छोटी पहाड़ी पर बना था। इसे आधुनिक पाथरघाटा से समीकृत किया गया है। यहां से दूर-दूर तक काफी क्षेत्र में गंगा नदी में से बौद्ध मूर्तियां एवं अन्य अवशेष मिले हैं। नालंदा को जो प्रसिद्धि एवं सम्मान गुप्त तथा गुप्तोत्तर कालों में मिला, कदाचित् वैसा ही सम्मान पाल काल में विक्रमशील को प्राप्त हुआ। संपूर्ण महाविहार में 107 मंदिर तथा 6 विद्यालय थे। मुख्य मंदिर के चारों ओर 53 कक्ष थे जो तांत्रिक गुह्य कृत्यों के लिए थे तथा भिक्षुओं के सामान्य प्रयोग हेतु 54 आवास-कक्ष भी थे। ये सभी एक प्राकार से घिरे हुए थे, इस प्राकार में छः द्वार थे।[10]

आधुनिक बांग्लादेश में राजशाही जिले के अंतर्गत पहाड़पुर नामक स्थान पर उत्खनन से प्राप्त सोमपुर महाविहार से एक मृण्मय फलक मिला है[11] जिस पर धर्मपाल देव नाम अंकित है। इससे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इस विहार की नींव धर्मपाल के समय में पड़ी, जो उसके उत्तराधिकारियों के समय में विकसित हुआ। यह उत्तर से दक्षिण 922 फीट तथा पूर्व से पश्चिम 919 फीट में बनवाया गया। ईंटों से निर्मित इस विहार में भिक्षुओं के रहने के लिए 177 कक्ष बने हैं। विहार का प्रवेश द्वार उत्तर की ओर है तथा शेष तीन ओर आवास कक्षों की पंक्तियों के मध्य में केंद्रीय कक्ष बनाए गए हैं। उत्खनन से यह भी ज्ञात हुआ कि समय-समय पर यहां पुनरुद्धार कार्य करवाया गया। इस कार्य में विपुलश्रीमित्र (बौद्ध भिक्षु?) का विशेष सहयोग मिला। उसका एक अभिलेख मिला है,[12] जिससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि इस विहार को अग्निकांड से पर्याप्त क्षति पहुंची थी। पुनरुद्धार कार्य के अतिरिक्त उसने विश्व के अष्टांग भय के नाश के लिए तारा देवी का एक मंदिर तथा उसमें सरोवर आदि बनवाया।

सोमपुर महाविहार के आंगन के मध्य में से एक विशाल (बौद्ध) मंदिर के अवशेष मिले हैं। यद्यपि यह निश्चित रूप से कहना कठिन है कि इस मंदिर का निर्माण किस पाल शासक के काल में हुआ? तथापि ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इसका निर्माण विहार के निर्माण के साथ-साथ ही संभवतः हुआ। के.एन. दीक्षित के अनुसार इस मंदिर का निर्माण धर्मपाल के समय में हुआ।[13] इस मंदिर की तल-छंद योजना[14] के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि यह क्रूसीफार्म (cruciform) है। मंदिर में अनेक तल हैं। प्रत्येक तल पर छज्जा (terrace), प्रदक्षिणा पथ (circumambulation-path) तथा छज्जे पर मुंडेर (Parapet-wall) के अवशेष मिले हैं। पहले और दूसरे छज्जे तक पहुंचने के लिए उत्तर की ओर से सोपान पंक्ति का निर्माण हुआ। मंदिर स्थापत्य की इस शैली ने दक्षिण-पूर्व एशिया में मंदिर स्थापत्य शैली को प्रभावित किया। इस दृष्टि से बर्मा के आनन्द मंदिर, कंबोडिया के अंकोरवाट तथा बोरोबुदूर के मंदिर स्तूप को उदाहरणस्वरूप लिया जा सकता है। पूर्वी भारत और दक्षिण पूर्वी द्वीप समूहों के मध्य संबंध पाल काल में अधिक घनिष्ठ हुए। संभवतः स्थापत्य शैली इन संबंधों के फलस्वरूप अधिक प्रभावित हुई।

बिहार के गया जिले में विहारशरीफ कस्बे के समीप घोष्रावां नामक स्थान से देवपाल के शासन-काल का एक अभिलेख मिला है।[15] इस अभिलेख के अनुसार नगरहार (आधुनिक जलालाबाद) निवासी वीरदेव वज्रासन (बुद्ध) की पूजा हेतु महाबोधि आया। वह अपने सहदेशी भिक्षुओं को देखने के लिए *यशोवर्म्मपुरविहार* गया। कनिंघम ने इस स्थान को विहारशरीफ कहा है, किंतु हुल्ट्श इसे घोष्रावां बताते हैं। यहां पाल राजा देवपाल ने उसका बहुत सम्मान किया और उसे नालंदा के परिपालन हेतु नियुक्त किया। वीरदेव ने यहां वज्रासन के निमित्त कैलाश के सदृश ऊंचा भवन (विहार अथवा मंदिर) निर्मित करवाया।

देवपाल के शासनकाल का एक अभिलेख नालंदा से भी मिला है।[16] इस अभिलेख में नालंदा में एक विहार निर्मित करवाए जाने का उल्लेख हुआ है। वह विहार दक्षिण-पूर्वी एशिया के श्रीविजय राज्य के शासक श्रीबालपुत्रदेव ने निर्मित करवाया था। यह अभिलेख नालंदा के विहार संख्या 1 के उत्खनन से मिला है। उत्खनन से इस विहार के नौ स्तर मिले हैं। संभव है श्रीबालपुत्रदेव द्वारा निर्मित विहार इसी स्थल पर रहा हो। इस शासक के आग्रह पर देवपाल ने श्रीनगर भुक्ति के अंतर्गत राजगृह विषय से संबंधित अजपुर नय में *नंदिवनाक* और *मणिवाटक*; पिलिपिण्का नय में *नटिका*; अचला नय में *हस्तिग्राम* और गया विषय के अंतर्गत कुमुदसूत्र वींथी में *पालामक* गांवों को दान में दिया था, जिससे इस विहार में रह रहे भिक्षुओं का पालन-पोषण भली प्रकार हो सके। स्पष्ट है कि ये शासक विहारों, मंदिरों आदि के निर्माण में जितनी रुचि रखते थे, उतनी ही रुचि उनके विकास एवं पल्लवन में भी दिखलाते थे।

नारायणपाल (854-915 ईसवी) के भागलपुर अभिलेख में उसके द्वारा कलशपोत में भगवान शिव भट्टारक के सहस्रायन मंदिर के निर्माण का उल्लेख मिलता है।[17] नारायणपाल ने भगवान शिव भट्टारक के निमित्त तथा पाशुपत संप्रदाय के आचार्यों द्वारा मंदिर में 'बलि', 'चरू' संपादित करने के निमित्त एवं पाशुपत सन्यासियों की शयनासन, औषधि आदि की व्यवस्था के निमित्त तीरभुक्ति के अंतर्गत कक्ष विषय में मकुतिका ग्राम दान में दिया था। नारायणपाल के ही बादाल स्तंभ लेख[18] में यह उल्लेख है कि ब्राह्मण मंत्री गुरुव मिश्र ने नारायणपाल के काल में यह गरुण स्तंभ स्थापित किया।

महीपाल (988-1038 ई0) के शासनाकाल में स्थापत्य संबंधी नव-निर्माण एवं पुनरुद्धार के अनेक कार्य हुए। इस शासक के समय में सारनाथ (वाराणसी) पाल साम्राज्य में संभवतः शामिल था। महमूद गजनवी के आक्रमण के समय सारनाथ के स्मारकों को बहुत क्षति पहुंची। इन स्मारकों के पुनरुद्धार एवं नव निर्माण के लिए महीपाल ने स्थिरपाल एवं वसंतपाल नामक दो भाइयों को नियुक्त किया था। इसका प्रमाण 1026 ईसवी के सारनाथ अभिलेख से मिलता है।[19] इन दोनों ने सारनाथ में धर्मराजिका एवं धर्मचक्र नामक दो स्तूपों का पुनरुद्धार कराया तथा अष्टमहास्थानशैलगंधकुटी नामक प्रस्तर का मंदिर बनवाया। इस स्मारक के नाम का अर्थ ब्रहुत स्पष्ट नहीं है। बुद्ध के जीवन की आठ प्रमुख घटनाओं को अंकित करता हुआ एक फलक यहां से मिला है। प्रतीत होता है कि बुद्ध के जीवन की घटनाओं के आधार पर ही इसका नामकरण किया गया होगा। नालंदा से प्राप्त एक अन्य अभिलेख से ज्ञात होता है कि महीपाल के शासनकाल के 11वें वर्ष से पूर्व नालंदा का एक मंदिर अग्नि द्वारा नष्ट कर दिया गया था, किंतु कौशांबी निवासी बालादित्य द्वारा इसका जीर्णोद्धार करवाया गया।[20]

नयपाल (1038-1055 ईसवी) तथा विग्रहपाल तृतीय (1055-1070 ईसवी) के समय

में ब्राह्मण धर्म से संबंधित कुछ मंदिरों का निर्माण हुआ। नयपाल के 15वें राज्य वर्ष का उल्लेख करता एक प्रस्तर-फलक लेख गया के कृष्ण-द्वारिका मंदिर की द्वार शाखा से मिला है।[21] इसमें शूद्रक के पुत्र ब्राह्मण विश्वादित्य द्वारा भगवान जनार्दन का मंदिर निर्मित करवाए जाने का उल्लेख हुआ है। इसी शासक के 15वें राज्यवर्ष का उल्लेख करता एक दूसरा लेख गया (नरसिंह) मंदिर से मिला है।[22] इसमें पारितोष के पौत्र तथा शूद्रक के पुत्र विश्वरूप का उल्लेख है जिसने भगवान गदाधर के मंदिर का निर्माण करवाया। विश्वादित्य तथा विश्रूप संभवत: एक ही व्यक्ति थे। शूद्रक के पुत्र विश्वरूप ने ही अक्षयवट (गया) में वटेश (शिवलिंग) मंदिर तथा प्रपितामहेश्वर शिव मंदिर बनवाए। गया अक्षयवट मंदिर लेख[23] के अनुसार यह निर्माण कार्य विगृहपाल तृतीय के शासनकाल के 5वें वर्ष में संपन्न हुआ। गदाधर मंदिर से गदाधर मूर्ति अभिलेख मिला है [24] जिसके अनुसार विश्वरूप अथवा विश्वादित्य ने अनेक मूर्तियों की प्रतिष्ठा हेतु मंदिर का निर्माण करवाया। अभिलेख में 15वें राज्यवर्ष का उल्लेख है, जो कि संभवत: विग्रहपाल तृतीय के राज्यकाल का वर्ष है। गया के शीतला मंदिर अभिलेख[25] से ज्ञात होता है कि विश्वरूप के पुत्र यक्षपाल ने विभिन्न देवी-देवताओं को समर्पित एक मंदिर का निर्माण करवाया। उसने *उत्तरमानस* नामक एक सरोवर भी उत्खनित करवाया। उपर्युक्त अभिलेखों के प्रकाश में यह कहना उपयुक्त होगा कि यक्षपाल और उसके पूर्वज नयपाल, विग्रहपाल तृतीय और इनके उत्तराधिकारियों के समय में बहुत महत्वपूर्ण रहे तथा स्थापत्य संबंधी कार्यों में अपना सहयोग देते रहे।

रामपाल (1075-1120 ईसवी) ने भी अपने वंश की परंपराओं को यथावत बनाए रखा। स्थापत्य कार्यों में रुचि रखते हुए उसने जगद्दल महाविहार स्थापित किया, इसका उल्लेख संध्याकरनन्दी ने किया है।[26] इस महाविहार के स्थापत्य के विषय में विस्तृत जानकारी नहीं मिलती है। यह वारेन्द्री में बनवाया गया था।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से स्पष्ट है कि पाल काल में स्थापत्य कला का पर्याप्त पल्लवन हुआ। पाल शासकों के अतिरिक्त स्फूर्तिवान अन्य सामान्य एवं विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों का भी इसमें सहयोग मिला। पाल शासक न केवल कुशल निर्माता थे, वरन् उन स्मारकों के संरक्षण में भी पर्याप्त रुचि रखते थे। वे प्रमुखत: बौद्ध धर्मानुयामी थे। किंतु धार्मिक सहिष्णुता का श्रेष्ठ भाव उनके शासनकाल की विभिन्न गतिविधियों में परिलक्षित होता है। स्थापत्य कला के संदर्भ में पाल लेखों से उनके दक्षिण-पूर्व एशिया के साथ सांस्कृतिक संबंधों के पुष्टि होती है।

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Book Review

Ajay S. Rawat and Rakesh Sharma, *Managing Floods in Eastern Uttar Pradesh*, published by Centre for Development studies, U.P. Academy of Administration, Nainital, printed by Consul Printers, Nainital, 2000, pages ix+169, price Rs. 250/-

The book under review, a major contribution to study of Disaster Management in India, cuts across the several disciplines, and clearly shows how rapidly clis is changing fashions in India at the turn of the millennium. The study of Disaster Management is a little-known byway in the field of environmental history. Currently, the distinguished authors of this book, are working on Disaster Management, Forestry and Management of Environment. Dr. Ajay S. Rawat, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Kumaon University, Nainital, is one of the pioneers in Environmental and Forest History in India. He is also Chairman of International Union of Forestry Research Organizations, Vienna. The other author, Shri Rakesh Sharma, a dynamic IAS Officer, had majored in economics from Delhi School of Economics and London School of Economics. Initially his area of specialization was natural resource management and community based projects of the Indian economy, in which his work and study rightly merited attention. He has evinced his academic brilliance in higher research on disaster management and forestry.

In the pioneering work on managing floods in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Dr. Ajay S. Rawat and Shri Rakesh Sharma have offered a superbly researched study which is characterised by precision and authority, scrupulous analysis and factual synthesis. The path-breaking and investigative study is the result not only of the well-rounded approach of the authors, but also of excellent team effort of experts like Shri M. P. Mishra, Dr. R. S. Tolia, Dr. R. K. Pande, Dr. I. S. Pathak and others (p.ix), who inspired, coordinated and gave the authors insight into a complex problem. Particularly Shri M. P. Mishra inspired the authors to work on this topic and provided invaluable guidance during the field study.

The book consists of VIII chapters, distributed over 167 pages. The 'Foreward by Dr. R. S. Tolia, Director of U. P. Academy of Administration, Nainital, is kindled by perceptive imagination and sensitivity of understanding of the problem.

However, one stumbles a little in the opening chapter (pp.1-25), as it rather abounds in 'asides.' Purporting to furnish historical background of 'Disasters' in Uttar Pradesh, it deals successively with earthquakes (pp.3-9), landslide disaster (pp. 9-14), forest fires (pp. 15-22) and finally floods in 3 pages (pp. 23-25).

Chapter II (pp. 26-36) gives us an illuminating survey of the study area (Gorakhpur Division). It has to be noted that the authors do not bring into focus the Eastern Uttar Pradesh as a whole, as the title of the book suggests.

Chapter III deals with phase one (July-August 1998) of 'Disaster Description' The authors' personal presence and exposure to the 'Deluge' have added colour and dimension to their scholarly study. They present the reader with a wealth of detail and certainty of touch, varying from the daring feats of PAC jawans, and valiant efforts of administrative officers of State Government like Shri Dinesh Chaturvedi and Shri Amitabh Thakur to 'every politician thronging the flood-stricken areas (p.63)' and the picturesque view of the golden rays of the setting sun on the Piddwa ghat (pp. 52-53).

Chapter IV (pp. 64-84), dealing with the second phase of 'Disaster Description,' gives us learned insight into the aftermath of the 'Deluge', and appraisal of relief measures by the State Government and peoples' response towards relief measures. It has all the earmarks of painstaking investigative study.

Chapter V (pp. 85-99), entitled 'Genesis of the Problem' provokes pointed reflections on demographic reasons, and wafts a fresh breeze of re-evaluation rousing the somnolent warders of academic ivoury towers. Dr. U. K. Shukla's view is striking and noteworthy in this context (pp. 97-99). The eminent geologist maintains that' from the soil morphologic mapping of the area one can infer the presence of faults, including the Himalayan frontal fault, Rapti fault, Gandak fault, Rohini fault and Ghagra-Ganga fault.

Chapter VI (pp. 100-109) entitled 'Lessons Learnt' is a profound exercise in the hard school of experience. It is not a glut of popular generalizations about preventive and Pre and Pro-flood measures, men and material planning, rescue and evacuation operations, food and drinking water system, livestock management in the emergency phase, rehabilitation and recovery phase.

Chapter VII (pp. 110-146) is a penetrating and comprehensive study of different perceptions, suggestions and assorted views of executive and superintending engineers like Shri Nar Singh, Shri Sher Singh, Dr. P. D. Pant, the Corps of Engineers of the Allahabad Sub Area, the NGOs and administrative officers like Shri B. Shanker, Vinod Kumar Srivastava, Arun Singhal and Devesh Chaturvedi. The reflections of the authors on peoples' perceptions, VIP visits and Army. Civil Liaison, monitoring and evaluation, institutionalisation, mitigation measures and disaster assessment plan are extremely valuable.

The book passes on to the concluding chaper (chapter VIII, pp.147-167), focussing on the 'Flood Management Plan-2000,' so detailed and sound a study of plans of the administrative machinery, so rich in insights and sugestions of Shri Yogendra Narain, Shri Rajeev Gupta, Shri Rajan Shukla, Shri P. K. Srivastava, Shri Narendra Nath Pandey, Shri Harikant Tripathy, Shri Sobhraj Singh and Shri Ram Vilas Misra, is indeed a real achievement.

More important, however, are the basic ideas of the authors embodied in their writings. They are of the view that the problems of floods in eastern U.P. lie in the deforestation of the U.P. Himalayan region and the Nepal Himalaya (p.122). They assert that the solution lies in large scale afforestation in the catchment areas of the rivers which originate in the U. P. Himalayan region and the Nepal Himalaya (p.123). The endeavour of the authors, it appears, stems from the tone of suggestive exposition of Dr. R. S. Tolia who holds that the only long term solution is community based management planning (pp. vi,99). The gentle assertions have received adequate treatment, supported by a wide array of information, even in texture and weighted in emphasis.

However, an astounding accumulation of information regarding floods in Gorakhpur Division in 1998 has been compressed into a functionally viable package in the book under review. It is handsomely printed with diagrams in tune with the academic gravity of the book. The deft handling

of camera by Dr. Ajay S. Rawat provides visual aids for capturing the sense of the past. The elegant prose of the authors makes its own impact. To cite an example:

"The golden rays of the setting sun along with the humming of the birds and the peals of laughter of the lively children in the pool seems to point towards a bright future, provided that this surge of bonhamoie and trust is nurtured and retained.

Time is the biggest healer, as months will pass by, the signs of the devastating floods will gradually be erased. But what will endure in their memories and books of history for several years to come, the regions worst recorded flood and the togetherness with which they were all there to grapple with it." (p.53).

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